The Nation.

February 25, 1991 $1.75 U.S./ $2.25 Can

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ONE YEAR AFTER THE TRIUMPH

A Haunted House: Capitalism & Its Specters

ROBERT POLLIN AND ALEXANDER COCKBURN

A year ago the capitalist future appeared as rosy as . . . (Page 224)

EDITORIAL

GROUNDING RACISM

War fever has climbed literally sky high. If you don't believe it, ask Pan American World Airways, which barred all Iraqi nationals, even those who are lawful permanent residents of the United States, from traveling on all its flights, international and domestic.

Better yet, ask Salan H. Salman, a political refugee from Iraq who sought asylum in this country and is now a legal resident. He sued Pan Am when it barred him from its unfriendly skies in violation, he contends, of the Federal Aviation Act and various civil rights laws. Salman's father, it is worth mentioning, was executed in 1963 during a coup that temporarily brought the Baath Party (and Saddam Hussein, then one of its leaders) to power.

As a result of Salman's suit, Pan Am modified its ban by allowing Iraqis with permanent resident status in the United States to fly. But, as the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee lawyer who brought the case said, Pan Am's policy "still unlawfully discriminates against Iraqi nationals in the United States on valid visas."

But the real blame goes higher up. The unnamed party to this action is President Bush, who has spread the rhetorical gas that has poisoned the national atmosphere and stirred up anti-Iraqi feelings.

Having contributed to the hysteria in the skies, the President—and the media, which amplify his demonizing sermons—owes it to the American people to denounce Pan Am's irrational edict. Racism is not the way to fight terrorism, real or imagined.

THE LONG MARCH
BARBARA EHRENREICH

IRAQ IS NO VIETNAM
EDWARD SOREL

THE VIDEO WAR
MARGARET SPILLANE

BOURNE AGAIN
CASEY BLAKE

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LETTERS.

INTO THE TRAP

San Diego

While I enjoyed Christopher Hitchens's "Minority Report" on *An American Life* and *American Psycho* [Jan. 7/14], I was dismayed to see him fall into the same trap he apparently deplores. He talks of the First Amendment and of the right of people to be informed about the truth. Then he makes a false blanket statement about "Muslim countries." Clitoral circumcision is a practice followed by a few tribes in a few African nations that happen to have a majority of their citizens as followers of Islam. This practice has nothing to do with Muslims or Islam, and it is certainly not generic to all countries that happen to have a majority, or minority, Muslim population. I consider the unfortunate reference to be as twisted, therefore, as Reagan's statement on *Firing Line* cited by Hitchens. It is even sadder when considered in light of the fact that Islam is a misrepresented and misunderstood religion in our country even though there are almost as many Muslims here as Jews. To further misconceptions of Islam, or any idea, is hardly consistent with the argument Hitchens makes in his column.

S.N. Shafi

BOYCOTTING THE BOY

New York City

What Christopher Hitchens fails to state simply in his January 7/14 column is that NOW advocates not censorship but a boycott of Bret Easton Ellis's new novel. An economic boycott is a most reasonable response to monstrous trash masquerading as literature. Hitchens coyly asks why NOW would play Ellis's gory excerpt on its answering machine if it believes that art can be a motivator to action. When Hitchens condoned 2 Live Crew, he printed the controversial lyrics in his column. The logic is the same: Never reject in ignorance. Ellis needs no advocates. Clearly it's his enemies who have made him the most money. His particular recipe for money and notoriety is violence, which makes him the quintessential entertainment capitalist and marketing strategist. As part of the rich, white, male world, Ellis need not worry about censorship. His message is everywhere. No one is crying censorship; we're just crying.

Annie-B Parson

FREEDOM TO WRITE

New York City

We at PEN American Center welcome your editorial "The Torturer" [Jan. 7/14], highlighting the consistent human rights abuses committed by the regime of Morocco's King Hassan II, and we are particularly pleased about your mention of Abraham Serfaty, the only writer known to PEN sentenced to life in prison anywhere in the world.

Another writer—and a cellmate of Serfaty—qualified to testify to King Hassan's despotic tendencies is Ali Idrissi Kaitouni who in 1982, three weeks after the publication of his collection of poems, *Etincelle* ("Spark"), was arrested and eventually sentenced to fifteen years in prison and a 100,000-dirham fine on charges of "insulting the King's dignity." Both writers assure us that letters of protest by American citizens and editorials such as yours *do* affect the finer sensibilities of their jailer. We therefore encourage your readers to send polite appeals to: His Majesty King Hassan II, Palais Royal, Rabat, Morocco.

Siobhan Dowd
Sylvia Golden

LOSING THE EAR

Denver

I recently arranged for members of the independence-minded political groups in Latvia to receive *The Nation* regularly, in the belief that they would benefit from its perspectives and reporting. Despite Western representations of these political groups as entirely market-mad, it is notable that some of them prefer John Kenneth Galbraith among Western economists; that preference is based in part on their concurrence with Galbraith's assessment of the economic situation in the U.S.S.R. They are generally hungry for perspectives on how to construct a just and prosperous society that we in the West might have to offer. However, I cannot expect them to take *The Nation* seriously while it is producing editorials such as "The Russia Housekeeper" [Jan. 21], which displays views that fall wide of known facts about Gorbachev and recent events in both Moscow and the Baltic.

Let me explain. To refer to those individuals with whom Gorbachev has been allying himself as "moderate conservatives" suggests that *The Nation* is not taking advantage of *glasnost* to remain minimally informed about important facts. No one who is aware of the history of these people, Pugo or Kryuchkov or Gromov or Alksnis, for example, would call them moderate in any sense. If they are moderate, then so is the Chinese leadership that ordered the massacre at Tiananmen Square. It is also a gross misrepresentation of the wide variety of views about current conditions to claim that "the demand to bring order to the present chaos is now heard from all sides." You can be sure that the velvet revolutionaries in the Baltic are not calling for "order," and to suggest that conditions there were chaotic is simply false, although once the military moved in, it may very well have become an apt description.

Your editorial, like so many from progressive viewpoints about the U.S.S.R. here in the United States, reads like one conceived and directed out of longstanding mutual distrusts and hatreds among right- and left-wing pundits. While you may have learned how to read each other, the skills that support that process are apparently blinding you to a stream of facts from abroad. Your reassurance that "in six years . . . [Gorbachev] has shown no sign of wanting to go down in history as the man who abolished his own reforms" looks rather pathetic in light of recent calls for press censorship and the lack of any attempt to punish those responsible for the brutal attack on the people in Vilnius and Riga, not to mention the attacks themselves. You will lose the ear of progressives like myself if you continue to use cold war instincts to understand what is going on in that part of the world.

Jason Potter

KEYNES & ABEL

Hempstead, N.Y.

In your editorial "Democratic Vacuum" [Jan. 28], you suggest that "someone in the campaign glare must make the case against Reagan-Bush military Keynesianism." But before that takes place, let's agree on what is meant by "military Keynesianism." In my view, it involves much more than significant increases in military spending. It also implies easy fiscal policy: tax reductions, a refusal to raise taxes and/or a comparative disregard for whether or not the federal budget is balanced.

Thus, President Carter or his advisers would never qualify as military Keynesians although, in Carter's own words, he was the largest peacetime military spender, and he left President Reagan with a five-year military spending plan in January 1981 that Reagan was barely able to fulfill. Carter's campaign promise not to lower taxes until he balanced the budget clearly disqualifies him for this label.

President Reagan does indeed qualify as a military Keynesian in view of his program to cut the tax rates significantly over three consecutive years at the same time that he attempted to fulfill Carter's military spending plans. Reagan's toleration of the largest budget deficits on record simply reinforces this conclusion.

Likewise, John Kennedy qualifies in view of his sharp increases in military and space spending, thereby fulfilling his campaign promises in this area. More important, he also reduced tax rates for business, in the form of the investment tax credit in 1962, and pleaded for a 10 percent reduction in income tax rates, which President Johnson pushed through Congress as a tribute to the late President. It is also well to remember J.F.K.'s Yale commencement speech in June 1962, in which he became the first President to break away from the ideology of balanced budgets. It is not surprising that Walter Heller, Kennedy's chair of the Council of Economic Advisers, was brought into the top policy decisions of the Reagan Administration, much to the consternation of adviser Martin Anderson.

President Bush, on the other hand, is very

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Manuscripts: The magazine cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless accompanied by addressed, stamped envelopes.

Publisher, Arthur L. Carter

President, David Parker; *Associate Publisher and General Manager*, Neil Black; *Associate Publisher and Advertising Director*, Chris Calhoun; *Advertising Sales Representative*, Caerthan Banks; *Classified Advertising Director*, Gary Pomerantz; *Business Manager*, Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeepers*, Ivor A. Richardson, Shirleathia Watson; *Art/Production Manager*, Jane Sharples; *Vice President and Circulation Director*, Margaret Pyle; *Subscription Manager*, Cookee V. Klein; *Circulation Coordinator*, Jacqueline Lucas; *Receptionists*, Greta Loell, Vivette Dhanukdhari; *Data Entry and Mail Coordinator*, John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary*, Shirley Sulat; *Typography*, Sandy McCroskey; *Nation Associates Assistant Director*, Carlos Durazo; *Permissions and Back Issues*, Josh Neufeld; *Publicity and Special Projects Director*, Peter G. Meyer.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by The Nation Company, Inc.

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72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (212) 242-8400. *Washington Bureau:* Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, DC 20002. (202) 546-2239. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION. Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: *The Nation*, P.O. Box 10763, Des Moines IA 50340-0763. *Subscription Price*: 1 year, $44; 2 years, $75. Add $18 for surface mail postage outside U.S. Missed issues must be claimed within 60 days (120 days foreign) of publication date. **Please allow 4-6 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Back issues $3 prepaid ($4 foreign) from: *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. *The Nation* is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *The Nation*, P.O. Box 10763, Des Moines IA 50340-0763. This issue went to press on February 7.

EDITORIALS.

Less Isn't More

At first glance, the Bush Administration's proposed budget looks like more of the same. On closer inspection, it's even worse.

According to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, Bush proposes to cut spending on poor people by $760 million, adjusted for inflation. Social spending will remain on its familiar starvation diet; the prison budget, however, will be fattened by 63 percent. Is this the Bush solution to the housing shortage for the poor? Certainly he's not looking to build many new units. Behind the much-hyped scheme of vouchers to assist public-housing tenants in buying their apartments lurks a proposal to halve the amount appropriated for new public-housing construction.

The Administration attempts to divert attention from the social cuts by touting a new poverty-fighting strategy: "empowerment," which involves everything from school and housing vouchers to enterprise zones. And so George Bush, who wages war in the name of promoting peace, empowers poor people by taking resources away from them.

Aside from harboring a delayed kick by putting off financing the gulf war, the budget contains a scary economic effect. The President proposes to hold the growth of federal spending well below the rate of inflation, and it would be a surprise

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if Congress challenges him on this. The swelling deficit will continue to capture the headlines, but a deficit that expands passively as the economy sinks deeper into recession provides no stimulus. It may stave off complete collapse, but it can't reverse a slump. Budget director Richard Darman has fearlessly faced down this peril by assuming a short slump, but as Fed chair Alan Greenspan warns, a long war could upset the economic apple cart.

In fact, last year's budget summit agreement pledged the government to five years of fiscal stringency. Add to this stringency some $33 billion in budget cuts and tax increases that the states will be making in response to declining revenues, and you have a sharp contraction in fiscal policy right in the early stages of a recession. Herbert Hoover couldn't have timed it better.

Grand Illusions

"A minister either shuts his trap or resigns." On January 29, for the second time in his career, the author of these lines, Jean-Pierre Chevènement, resigned, on this occasion from the ministry of defense. He didn't quite open it at once, but the euphemistic reference in his letter of resignation—"the logic of war risks moving us ever further from the aims established by the United Nations"—gives the French diplomatic game away. Chevènement's implicit criticism of France's acquiescence in U.S. policy destroys the myth of a stubborn French, and European, resistance to America's imperial drive in the gulf.

At 51, Chevènement is no starry-eyed pacifist. He was one of the French Socialists who converted their party to the nuclear gospel. But he is a "Gaullist" of sorts, allergic to American domination. His presence in the government was quite useful for Mitterrand as long as the French President wanted to appear as both Bush's faithful ally *and* a peacemaker in the Middle East. And didn't Mitterrand seem to be a genuine matchmaker, pleading, on the eve of the war, for an international conference to deal with the Palestinian question? But the snag with Mitterrand, and with all the European leaders, is that at no stage did they have the guts to hand Washington an ultimatum: Either you accept our conditions or you will lose our backing. Thus, their peacemaking was just a performance.

Once the war started, the acting became superfluous. Chevènement could no longer pretend that French forces would limit their action to Kuwait and regard Iraq as out of bounds, as he had originally claimed. Within a fortnight he had to stand down. In a country that has only about 13,000 troops in the Persian Gulf and, so far, no conscripts and no casualties, a country watching, like everybody else, *Oh, What a Lovely Surgical War!* on television, Mitterrand is riding high in the opinion polls, and the immediate impact of the resignation is small, the more so since Chevènement and his colleagues are not spoiling for a fight. But in a France where intervention was unpopular until the very eve of the conflict, where the antiwar movement is far from negligible and the Socialist Party is deeply disturbed, its long-term effect may be significant.

The end of the make-believe, on the other hand, has had an immediate impact in the Arab world. There, whatever the princes may proclaim, people are not fooled. French diplomats can check this merely by looking across the Mediterranean. After the demonstrations in Algiers and Tunis, it was the turn of Rabat on February 3, when some 300,000 people chanted, "Bush, murderer! Mitterrand, his dog! Fahd, his donkey!" The tragic achievement of American action, and of European inaction, is that for millions of Muslims the butcher of Baghdad is by now a hero. DANIEL SINGER

Daniel Singer is The Nation*'s Europe correspondent.*

The Long March

January 10: About thirty of us, members of the National Organization for Women and the New York feminist group No More Nice Girls, make a tight little circle in front of the building housing the Saudi mission to the United Nations, chanting, "Equality yes, war no!" Our theme is "Don't die to defend gender apartheid" and also "Bare arms, don't bear arms." From the expressions of passers-by, this reference to the Saudi prescription against sleeve-rolling on the part of U.S. servicewomen requires a bit too much background information. But we are in fine form. This is the way to stop the warmakers: with oak tag, Magic Markers and good old-fashioned grass-roots efforts everywhere.

We are pleased—we have even made a tiny splash: CNN, National Public Radio, a line in *The New York Times.* The ratio of airtime to woman-hours spent in planning and demonstrating must be an all-time high. It would have been even higher if we hadn't been slowed down in our planning meeting by the concern that our demonstration could be construed somehow, by someone, as anti-Arab. I had been annoyed at the time by the paralyzing potential of "political correctness." But a few weeks later, reading of a 14-year-old Florida boy's attempt to bomb the neighbors' house because they looked like Iraqis to him, our discussion will seem sweet, like something from another life.

January 15: I am on the steps of Low Plaza at Columbia University, looking down on 1,500 to 2,000 students, the most I have seen rallying on this spot since the spring of 1968. At noon, as the rally starts, church bells sound from all directions (for peace, I later learn) and steam is rising from the slush. Actor Tim Robbins denounces what will be a "racist war"; Susan Sarandon is terse and tough; Kurt Vonnegut, cynical and sad; Eric Bogosian, strangely uncomic and sincere. It goes on. A rabbi, an Israeli woman, a Palestinian student, a procession of professors. I ask Geof, a 19-year-old friend of my son, if he's had enough. No, he wants to hear every speaker, every angle. And so does the crowd. There isn't much militance compared with '68, but no one drifts away for lunch.

In fact, the best thing comes last. An overwrought young man pushes his way to the microphone and demands to speak. The rally organizers don't want him to, but the crowd, still rooted to the spot, yells, "Let him speak!" He's in R.O.T.C.,

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he says, and he's mad. He's mad because the TV cameras zoomed in on Tim Robbins's and Susan Sarandon's baby. Hollywood is not the point. The point is he could be sent to Saudi Arabia to die for no good reason. The point is he could die.

Geof and I decide to head down to the U.N. for another rally. People are rallying from one end of the city to the other because this is the last day before the deadline, the eve of destruction. I tell Geof about the old days, how we used to go to demos with wet handkerchiefs in Baggies, to put on in case of tear gas. He's never been to demos before, so he tells me about Buddhism and Wittgenstein and how the concept of self is the root of all evil. He tells me he has written to the government in Baghdad offering his services in a soup kitchen, if they have soup kitchens, because the sanctions are wrong, they affect innocent people. I make the appropriate clucking sounds about personal safety and political strategy, but this is a new generation.

At the U.N., though, I start having Vietnam flashbacks. There are venerable chants like "Power to the people" and enough cops around to liberate Kuwait. Still, some of the people seem to want peace more than power, and a forlorn-looking woman wears a sign that says, "Wombs of the World Unite."

A few hours later we go to the CBS studios on 57th Street where I am to be on a three- or four-minute panel of antiwar activists. Everyone is nice to us—Charles Kuralt even comes out of his office to shake our hands—but the excitement level is terrifying. In the giant studio that is being fitted out for war coverage, maybe a hundred men in suits, and the odd woman, are standing around, urgently debating their new assignments in front of those now all-too-familiar wall-sized maps of "the region." We see where Dan Rather and Walter Cronkite will sit. The phones have hasty, masking-tape labels that say "Baghdad." The expression "theater of war" comes to mind.

As soon as I'm wired up, I start chatting long distance with one of the other two antiwar people selected by CBS, a young resister with a blond ponytail and an oversized sweatshirt that says "U.S. Out of the Gulf." But due to technical difficulties the third antiwar person, a serviceman's father from Austin, Texas, can't be included. For almost an hour, while the technicians fiddle, we watch his anguished face on the monitor as he says, "I can't hear you. Can you hear me?"

January 16: The deadline passes, giving us one lovely bright full day of peace. Just after 7 in the evening I stagger out of an aerobics class to hear the sound system in the locker room playing an instrumental version of "America the Beautiful," and it is that mournful, bawling sound that brings the news. "They usually play rock 'n' roll," someone says blankly. "That's not rock 'n' roll."

January 17: At 5 o'clock, Geof, my son and I head over to Times Square for an impromptu antiwar march called by both branches of the movement, the Coalition to Stop U.S. Intervention in the Middle East and the National Campaign for Peace in the Middle East. There are about 5,000 to 10,000 people penned in the square, captioned from above by the headlines running around the old Times tower announcing sorties, predicting quick success. The crowd looks like it's been gathered up randomly from the streets: college kids dressed by Tweeds. Black teenagers nudging one another with private jokes. Business types in their office clothes. "Queers for Peace."

We start marching down Seventh Avenue, feeling half like prisoners, escorted by the police, and half as if we owned the streets. Some marchers are waving little American flags; a band behind us is chanting something menacing about "asesino"—a noun or verb, we don't know which. At about 20th Street a gray-haired man in a windbreaker is yelling obscenities at the march, but most people wave and give us the peace sign. It's been a long time since I've made the V-sign, but it feels just right for now, and lighter to carry than a fist.

January 17-25: Then it starts, the yellow ribbon phase. They appear overnight, on every tree and telephone pole on the main street of our town, like daffodils in a cold, false spring. When I walk the dog, I find them on nearly half the houses, replacing plastic Santas and Christmas lights. Of course, the exteriors of houses have been becoming more demonstrative for some time—not just Christmas lights and Fourth of July flags but Thanksgiving turkeys and Valentine hearts. And now this new, bright yellow season, meaning: We support . . . We

(*Continued on Page 236*)

★

A Song of Cost-Effectiveness

A million a missile, tra-la, tra-la,
The Cruise costs a million a shot.
It costs us a million, tra-la, tra-la,
To land on the target, or not.

A million's expensive, tra-la, tra-la.
Though everyone near it will die
If it hits the target, tra-la, tra-la,
Per body that's still pretty high.

Of course every million, tra-la, tra-la,
The government spends on these raids
Means that much less money, tra-la, tra-la,
For drug treatment, health care and AIDS.

Reduction in funding, tra-la, tra-la,
Means more people just out of luck.
So some of those perish, tra-la, tra-la,
And that means more bang for the buck.

Tra-la-la, tra-la-la, la, la, la,
And that means more bang for the buck.

Calvin Trillin

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MINORITY REPORT.

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

According to the February 11 issue of *The New Republic*, the scene that follows occurred one day after the proud inauguration of Operation Desert Storm:

> Jack Kemp, the secretary of housing and urban development, brought a copy of *Winston and Clementine*, a book about the Churchills, to the Cabinet meeting on January 17, intending to give it to President Bush. Asked to deliver a prayer, Kemp read from the book instead. He chose a passage quoting from Churchill's diary after he'd become prime minister of a besieged England in 1940. "As I went to bed at 3 a.m., I was conscious of a profound sense of relief. At last I had the authority to give directions over the whole scene." Churchill felt as if he were "walking with Destiny, and that all my past life had been but a preparation for this hour and this trial." Kemp, looking up at Bush, didn't leave his point much in doubt. "Mr. President, this is the moment you were elected for," he said. "Destiny made you our president for this crisis."

The awful thing about this story is that it is almost certainly true. My own inquiries confirm it, and its author, Fred Barnes, is a reasonably reliable conduit and megaphone for the views of the Administration and its membership. Quite clearly, Bush did not see anything extraordinary in the drooling tribute from Kemp. He thought it, on balance, to be no more than his due. So it's come to this. The little putz really does think that he is Churchill.

Further evidence for this preposterous delusion was provided in the State of the Union Message. In the very first paragraph, Bush spoke of standing "at a defining hour," which is a conscious echo of Churchill's "finest hour" address of 1940, and went on to speak of "a great struggle in the skies and on the seas and sands," which is a rather clunky lift from the speech to the House of Commons on Dunkirk, given on June 4, 1940, in which the old man spoke of fighting "on the seas and oceans . . . on the beaches . . . on the landing grounds" and, indeed, everywhere else including the streets. This tepid plagiarism was Bush's introduction to luminous, lapidary phrases of his "own" such as (my personal favorite): "With a few exceptions, the world now stands as one." And of course, there was the customary claptrap about "appeasement." Judging from a cliché count conducted by *Congressional Quarterly*, Bush's understudies in the House and Senate are not much more fluent or original. In the course of the debate on "whether" to go to war with Iraq—as if Bush had not already taken the decision—the nation's lawmakers came up with 289 references to Hitler, Chamberlain and Churchill. This compares with 413 mentions of Vietnam. (And those of us who remember Vietnam remember that Ngo Dinh Diem was described by the Kennedy Administration as "the Winston Churchill of Southeast Asia" before gorging himself so heavily on the blood of his own countrymen that he had to be removed from all life-support systems by the C.I.A.)

What is it about the figure of Churchill that makes him a cult figure on the American right? In the case of some devotees of the cult, such as Caspar Weinberger and indeed George Bush, one suspects a ghastly insecurity about their own lack of stature and courage. In the case of politicians in tight corners, Churchill can furnish a thesaurus of quotations far better than the average pinstripe speechwriter. Nixon was a great addict of this style, once remarking:

> 1972, as you know, was a very big year. A lot of things were going on. Winston Churchill once wrote that strong leaders usually do the big things well, but they foul up on small things, and then the small things become big. I should have read that before Watergate happened.

Breathtaking. Robert McFarlane, talking about his Iran/*contra* suicide bid, self-effacingly claimed, "I have to think about people who have overcome apparent near-catastrophic difficulty, from Jefferson to Churchill." No doubt. And Adm. John Poindexter, caught in an official campaign of domestic disinformation, resorted to Churchill's remark that, in wartime, truth is so precious that it must be protected by "a bodyguard of lies" (of course, Churchill was talking about lying to the *Germans*). Senator John Tower, alleged to be awash in Wild Turkey before his confirmation hearings, had his defenders argue that Churchill was none the worse for a quart or two of cognac. And so it goes painfully on.

Two occasions upon which I know the Munich analogy did not work may be of interest. Plunging into Vietnam behind the French in April 1954, Eisenhower and Dulles sought British support, Eisenhower by writing to Churchill in these terms:

> If I may refer again to history; we failed to halt Hirohito, Mussolini and Hitler by not acting in unity and in time. That marked the beginning of many years of stark tragedy and desperate peril. May it not be that our nations have learned something from that peril?

On Churchill's behalf, Sir Anthony Eden (who whatever his innumerable crimes had at least resigned over Munich in 1938) recorded:

> I was not convinced by the assertion which Mr. Dulles then made, that the situation in Indo-China was analogous to the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 and to Hitler's reoccupation of the Rhineland.

Two years later, having abruptly discovered that *Nasser* was the new Hitler, Eden appealed to Eisenhower and Dulles for support in his deranged invasion of Egypt. He wrote, "The West has been as slow to read Nasser's *A Philosophy of Revolution* as it was to read Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, with less excuse because it is shorter and not so turgid." On this occasion, it was Washington's turn to tell London not to be so stupid. In other words, beware always of the Munich/Churchill rhetoric, as of the ignorant opportunists who make use of it.

On one point, though, Kemp is right. Bush's past life has been "a preparation for this hour." His shady years at the C.I.A., when he helped bury the Kurds; his dirty deal with Israel and Iran and Saudi Arabia when he was Vice President; his secret diplomacy with Saddam Hussein until August 2 last—these qualify him as the Neville Chamberlain if not indeed the Pierre Laval of the present disaster. Should he now be awarded "the authority to give directions over the whole scene"?

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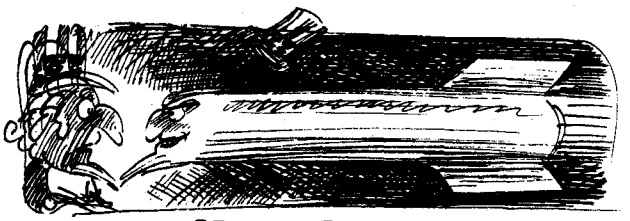
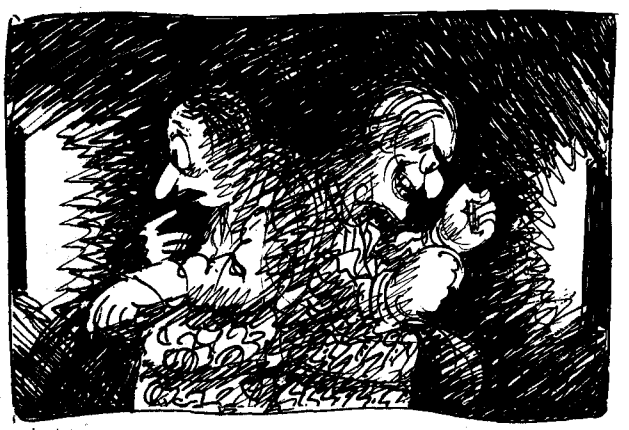
Iraq Is Not Vietnam

EDWARD SOREL



IN VIETNAM WE FACED AN ENEMY ARMED BY RUSSIA AND CHINA. IN THE PERSIAN GULF WE FACE AN ENEMY ARMED BY RUSSIA, THE UNITED STATES, FRANCE AND GERMANY.

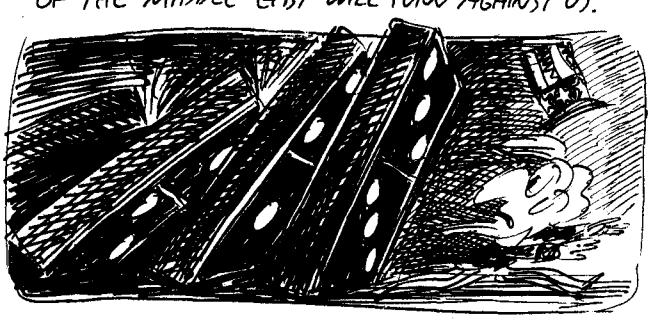


IN VIETNAM WE HAD NEWSMEN WHO SENT BACK PICTURES OF HOMELESS PEASANTS, NAPALMED CHILDREN AND NAUSEATING CARNAGE. IN THE PERSIAN GULF WE HAVE PR MEN DISPENSING PICTURES OF HIGH-TECH VIDEO GAMES IN WHICH THE TARGET IS ALWAYS HIT.

LYNDON JOHNSON HAD A BIG NOSE, BIG EARS AND FEARED IF WE LOST VIETNAM WE'D LOSE OUR SOURCE OF TUNGSTEN AND RUBBER. GEORGE BUSH HAS A SMALL NOSE, SMALL EARS AND FEARS IF WE LOSE THE PERSIAN GULF WE'LL LOSE OUR SOURCE OF OIL.

WHEN CARDINAL COOKE VISITED VIETNAM, HE TOLD AMERICAN TROOPS: "YOU ARE FRIENDS OF CHRIST BY THE FACT THAT YOU COME OVER HERE." WHEN PRESIDENT BUSH VISITED THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF RELIGIOUS BROADCASTERS, HE ASSURED THEM THAT IN THE WAR AGAINST IRAQ WE WERE "ON THE SIDE OF GOD."

25 YEARS AGO WE FEARED THAT IF WE LOST IN VIETNAM THE REST OF SOUTHEAST ASIA WOULD TURN AGAINST US. TODAY WE FEAR THAT IF WE WIN IN IRAQ THE REST OF THE MIDDLE EAST WILL TURN AGAINST US.



IN THE VIETNAM WAR WE DROPPED MORE BOMBS THAN WE DID DURING ALL OF WORLD WAR II. BUT IN THE PERSIAN GULF THINGS WILL BE DIFFERENT. WE WON'T BE FIGHTING WITH ONE ARM TIED BEHIND OUR BACK.

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ARTICLES.

CAPITALISM AND ITS SPECTERS

The World, The Free Market And the Left

ROBERT POLLIN AND
ALEXANDER COCKBURN

A year ago the capitalist future appeared, in the auguries of its toastmasters, as rosy as the old Socialist Realist posters once were in their visions of the shining path. Eastern Europe was commencing its economic renewal, along lines administered by crusading theorists of the free market and kept under critical review by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. In the Soviet Union itself the outlines of Gorbachev's nebulous *perestroika* were firming satisfactorily into a profile of capitalist reform, against a backdrop of economic disintegration advertised most vividly by appeals for food baskets from the West.

The surrender by the Soviet Union of any weighty adversarial role seemed, in the hopes of strategists in Washington, to announce a congenial era in the economic arrangements of the world, with leadership by the major capitalist powers disposing planetary capital, resources and trade opportunities. So ebullient was the rhetoric that it was predicted that normal laws of economic motion were to be permanently suspended, trend lines on the graph of the business cycle sustained always at a pleasurable altitude, growth ever on the rise.

Such were the imagined outlines of the "new world order" as displayed in the posters of Capitalist Realism. A year later the ebullience is gone, and though it would be a mistake to say that the long-term optimism of the free-marketeers has dissipated, shadows have crept over the rosy landscape of their expectations.

The Eastern European economies are reeling under three savage blows: the end of cheap Soviet energy, which had fueled their postwar growth; unemployment surging to levels unfamiliar to local populations though well known to workers farther west; a catastrophic shortfall—$10 billion or more—in anticipated capital investment from the West. Talk of emulating the economies of Sweden or Austria is now being replaced by gloomy perusal of the statistics of Mexico.

In the Soviet Union the best-known prophet of the free market, Stanislav Shatalin, issues denunciations of Gorbachev from his hospital bed while detachments of the K.G.B. wage war on "economic crime," targeting profiteers, hoarders, price gougers and other dutiful practitioners of Free Market 101.

If the world map resembles a poster, it is one displaying many of the less welcome features of the first four decades of the century. Furthermore, the world's foremost capitalist power is fighting the effects of serious recession with that negation of free-market theory, military orders from the state. In the fourth quarter of 1990 the gross national product of the United States fell by 2.1 percent, the worst drop since the 3.2 percent figure for the third quarter of 1983. The latest unemployment figures, for December, showed a loss of 232,000 jobs. This economic decline would have been far worse but for a December rise of 4.4 percent in orders for durable goods, reflecting the military buildup for the war against Iraq.

Military spending will help offset the recession in the short term, as the Bush government dumps inventory onto Iraqi troops and civilians. Alan Greenspan testified to Congress in the second week of the war that its economic consequences would be slight. One week later he retracted by saying the picture would change dramatically if the war lasted longer than three months. The deficit promises to be large enough to test even the most hardened nerves: $318 billion, including as much as $1 billion a day in war costs, plus billions more in new overseas aid and debt forgiveness required to secure favorable U.N. votes and hold together the "coalition." And these compounding billions still do not take into account the cost of sustaining a banking system so shaky that the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation is itself approaching bankruptcy.

Far from being on the threshold of a new world order the major capitalist powers face a period of increasing rivalry, as the rows that led to the temporary collapse of the GATT trade talks in December illustrated. It may have lacked the drama of a Scud, but the decision of the German Bundesbank to raise interest rates at the end of January sent a potent and unappetizing message to the U.S.-U.K. faction: Germany was prepared to lend money—at a profit of course—to finance the war but would not let the coalition pay for this war through cheap deficit financing.

Nowhere do the promises of a year ago look more empty than from the perspective of the Third World. The outlook was never good and, with higher prices for oil, lower prices for commodities, larger interest payments on their debt and, throughout the Near East and Southeast Asia, the calamitous disappearance of remittances from workers in the Persian Gulf region (formerly, 3 million foreign workers in Kuwait alone), it has become desperate.

So the economic idiom of the free-marketeers is now one of prolonged sacrifice, and the presumptive rewards of free-market capitalism promise to be outstripped by its penalties as the real living standards for peoples supposedly basking in its blessings continue to fall. It is therefore a good moment to examine the fundamental claims of the free-marketeers. Does the present situation signal merely an uncomfortable detour along a path that is sound, following a

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model essentially impregnable in its assumptions? Is the socialist path forever a cul-de-sac, one of history's false turns in the road?

The Market Love Feast

The end of the eighties boom, imploding through 1990, did not slow the rush of converts to market discipline. In the course of just a couple of weeks last fall, two governments run by social democrats made public their conversion. Michael Manley, Prime Minister of Jamaica, said, "We are making a radical change in direction" that will, "among other things, involve the free play of market forces in the determination of prices." In Sweden, the model to which many leftists originally hoped Eastern Europe would turn, the government announced a deflationary package that cut social benefits, an action widely heralded in the international financial press as a dramatic retreat from more than half a century of left-oriented Keynesianism.

In Latin America, Asia and Africa as well as Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, professed Friedmanites, Thatcherites and Reaganites hold high office: Brazil's President, Fernando Collor de Mello, styles himself the "C.E.O. of Brazil Inc." Vietnam's top economic strategist is Nguyen Zuan Oanh, a man whose c.v. includes a stint as acting Prime Minister for the U.S. puppet regime in South Vietnam and a staff position at the International Monetary Fund. In Algeria, Economics Minister Ghazi Hidouci says his government's "simple" plan for overcoming the country's economic crisis is to turn away from twenty-eight years of state socialism and toward private enterprise and a free market. Mozambique has also abandoned its commitment to socialism and now aggressively seeks investors from South Africa. It was recently rewarded with a nearly interest-free $112 million loan from the I.M.F. for its conversion to free-market policies.

And despite mounting crisis, free-market thinking continues its advance in Eastern Europe. In the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev has for now abandoned his firm judgment of just four months ago that "the whole world experience proved the vitality and efficiency of the market economy." Yet such statements still represent the views of a wide swath, and perhaps the majority, of leading Soviet policy makers. In Poland, Lech Walesa won the presidency stressing the urgency of an accelerated turn to the market and, after taking office, elevated free-market economist Krzysztof Bielecki to Prime Minister and reappointed the administrator of Poland's shock therapy, Leszek Balcerowicz, as Finance Minister. In Czechoslovakia, Finance Minister and devout free-marketeer Vaclav Klaus has taken firm control of economic policy in addition to becoming chair of Civic Forum [see George Black, "Prague Gets the Chicago Treatment," December 10, 1990].

With a few variations to account for local conditions, the formulas being advanced throughout the world are the same: in the short term, rapid and deep cuts in wages, social spending and subsidies to control inflation and provide a climate of stability for business; in the long term, fundamental restructuring, involving the deregulation of business, wholesale sell-offs of public-sector enterprises, elimination of tariffs and other barriers to international trade, and inducements to foreign multinational corporations.

This passion for the free market has been nourished from many sources, beginning with the ideological premise of Adam Smith that through markets each individual's free and selfish pursuit of gain will be transformed "as if by an invisible hand" to a socially optimal result. The ideological appeal is greatest in Eastern Europe, where the discrediting of communism has encouraged the embrace of whatever seems most contrary to the old order. Elsewhere the role of ideology has been less important than other factors—primarily, slow growth or even actual decline in real incomes, ossified institutions, crippling levels of indebtedness. Whether in Sweden, Jamaica, Poland, Brazil, Mozambique or any other stricken economy, governments faced crisis and had to change. But how? Many have sought enlightenment from the economies they regard as successful: those of the United States, Britain, Japan, South Korea and recently even Chile, all supposedly splendid advertisements for free-market capitalism.

Beyond those prods, there is the coercion of simple desperation, an influence that cannot be overestimated. Govern-

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ments believe that they cannot restructure without substantial aid, credit and investment. This can come only from the advanced capitalist countries and international lending institutions—primarily the I.M.F., World Bank, U.S. government and multinational banks—and the way to qualify for such support is by demonstrating a commitment to the free-market model. In fact, the ultimate benefit of external support is debatable, but there is no doubt that today the only way to get such support is to sing in the free-market choir.

This "linkage" has been demonstrated most blatantly in Africa, where average living standards fell by 20 percent during the 1980s. According to a recent World Bank report, African countries with strong free-market "structural adjustment" programs in place netted an 18.7 percent average annual increase in foreign aid between 1985 and 1987. Ghana saw its foreign aid quadruple between 1983 and 1988 immediately after head-of-state Jerry Rawlings became a free-market true believer. In fact, despite its population of only 14 million, Ghana received more interest-free loans from the World Bank in 1988 than any country except China and India. At the same time, countries without free-market adjustment programs saw their foreign aid decline by an average of 4.7 percent a year. So it is not surprising that as of 1989, thirty of the fifty-one African countries had formally adopted I.M.F. and World Bank–supported programs and several others were pursuing policies that largely follow the I.M.F./World Bank line.

Does the celebration of the market find justification in the recent historical record?

Finally, there is the spur of self-interest. However much a gamble a free-market approach may be for society at large, it almost certainly benefits the class of highly educated and internationally connected professionals—the "traveling classes," technicians and businesspeople—that so strongly supports it. Meanwhile, the masses being beckoned to the virtues of such a system seem wary if not downright resistant. In Poland, Solidarity was able to push through its austerity programs only after the composition of the party had shifted dramatically from workers to intellectuals, and December's presidential runoff demonstrated a widespread, if unfocused, opposition to the government's economic strategy. In Czechoslovakia, Finance Minister Klaus is widely opposed, reportedly even by President Vaclav Havel, but he proceeds apace because his opponents lack a coherent alternative program. Throughout Eastern Europe polls show a large majority of rural families—95 percent in the former East Germany, 90 percent in Czechoslovakia and 70 percent in Bulgaria and Hungary—have no desire to take up private farming as a full-time occupation. Similar patterns hold for Africa and Latin America. Morocco, Tunisia, Nigeria and Algeria all experienced bloody street rioting in recent years in response to the sudden price increases or severe cutbacks in public expenditures resulting from I.M.F. free-market adjustment programs. Five hundred people died in Algeria's 1988 riots. In Sudan, Jaafar el-Nimeiry's government was toppled in 1985 after an I.M.F.-approved plan sparked an urban insurrection. Zambia's President, Kenneth Kaunda, had to cancel an I.M.F.-approved program in 1987 after food riots killed fifteen people.

The free-market program of President Carlos Salinas de Gortari in Mexico also faces widespread opposition. Even his predecessor and political sponsor, Miguel de la Madrid, was recently moved to observe, "We cannot have a blind faith in the market, in private enterprise and in businessmen as regards distribution of wealth and social justice." Salinas thus increasingly relies on repression to advance his program. In Brazil, Collor was elected in 1989 by a small majority over his leftist opponent, Luís Inacio Lula da Silva, not because people wanted an unbridled free-marketeer but because, on the contrary, he sold himself as a populist, clean-government candidate [see Ken Silverstein, "Shock Treatment for the Poor," November 12, 1990].

Perhaps the most clear-cut example of the disparity between mass opinion and government action can be found in Peru. In last June's presidential election, Alberto Fujimori was able to crush Mario Vargas Llosa largely because he challenged Vargas Llosa's advocacy of free-market shock therapy. Yet since taking office in August, Fujimori has not hesitated to carry out the standard austerity policies, and one of the first advisers he summoned to Lima was Professor Jeffrey Sachs, the Svengali of Poland's crash conversion to mass unemployment and kindred joys of the free market.

But we cannot repudiate the arguments of free-market governments purely because they face opposition. Could it be, as free-marketeers remind us, that opponents of the model are too preoccupied with the short-term pain that inevitably precedes long-term gain? Let us then fix our gaze on the longer term. Do the celebration of the market and the rejection of large-scale government intervention find justification in the recent historical record? Is it true that governments that regulate and redistribute are the cause of the indisputable crises faced by so many of the world's economies, and that free-market capitalism can resolve those crises? In fact, such conclusions are entirely unwarranted, based on myths and fallacies which, shiny with use by mainstream economists and regnant economic powers, have achieved the status of certitude.

Myth #1: Socialist Central Planning Has Been a Disaster

The failures of central planning under what were the "actually existing" socialist governments are now universally understood—chief among them, the way in which the lack of democracy engendered an all-powerful, stifling bureaucracy. Central premises of socialism were, time and again, debauched. But substantial successes should not be forgotten. During the early phases of central planning the Soviet Union and China recorded stunning growth. In the period of the first two five-year plans, from 1928 to 1937, while the West was suffering through its worst depression, Soviet industrial growth as measured by conservative Western analysts averaged more than 12 percent. Under the duress of war mobili-

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zation and Stalinist purges, growth fell during the third five-year plan, but it took off again after World War II. C.I.A. estimates place industrial growth at an average of 9.3 percent during the 1950s, more than twice the rate in the United States over the same period. Thus did Khrushchev's famous boast, "Whether or not you like it, history is on our side; we will bury you," resonate among the Western diplomats who heard it in 1956. Even Friedrich von Hayek, the renowned free-market economist and arch-foe of central planning, acknowledged "the conspicuous successes which the Russians have achieved in certain fields."

In China, industrial growth averaged 11.2 percent between 1952 and 1978. Allowing for misallocations of resources and uneven quality of output, this was still an extraordinary achievement, creating from a near void the foundations for China's economic modernization. In terms of living standards, take changes in life expectancy at birth, a social indicator regarded as the most standardized and reliable measure of a population's physical well-being. When the Communists came to power in 1949 average life expectancy was around 40 years. It had risen almost ten years by 1957—that is, until the period of the Great Leap Forward, which produced a severe famine and a decline in life expectancy. After the Great Leap Forward, life expectancy regained its rapid rate of progress until the early 1970s. Since the late 1970s—from the time Deng Xiaoping attained power and began implementing market-oriented reforms—it has not improved. Indeed, according to some measures, it has actually declined since the late 1970s. Nevertheless, as of 1988 life expectancy in China was 70 years, a full decade more than the average in those countries that the World Bank characterizes as low income. Thus the Harvard economist Amartya Sen observes that in China, "the basic commitment of the political leadership—not unrelated to Marxist ideology—to eradicate hunger and deprivation has certainly proved to be a major asset in eliminating systematic penury," even though, as Sen makes clear, "it was not able to prevent the big famine, when a confused and dogmatic political leadership was unable to cope with a failure they did not expect and could not explain."

Cuba has also attained remarkable achievements through the egalitarian ethos underlying its planning apparatus. By any health or social indicator, Cuba stands well ahead of all other Latin American countries. For example, life expectancy in Cuba in 1988 was 76 years, while the average for Mexico, Brazil and Argentina—Latin America's three largest economies—was 69, 65 and 71 years, respectively. Cuba has also virtually eliminated illiteracy, and its rate of infant mortality of twelve per thousand live births is comparable to the U.S. figure of ten per thousand.

Relative to those of other countries in the Caribbean and in Central America, Cuba's economy has also been successful in producing a wide range of commodities both for domestic consumption and for export. Most impressive has been its development of a capital goods industry, the silver lining of the devastating thirty-one-year U.S. embargo. Andrew Zimbalist, an economist at Smith College and an expert on the Cuban economy, reports that "approximately one-quarter of investment spending on capital goods in the 1980s was on ma-

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chinery and equipment produced in Cuba, a level no other third world economy the size of Cuba has attained." Items being manufactured for domestic use now include irrigation equipment, air-conditioning and refrigeration equipment, sugarcane harvesting machinery, semiconductors, batteries and railroad cars. Among its nontraditional exports Cuba counts shellfish, citrus fruit, medicine, iron and steel products, nonelectrical machinery and the cowhide baseball.

It is popular to attribute the present crisis in the Cuban economy to some inherent failure of socialism, to inefficiency and moribund central planning, and to credit any of its successes to past infusions of Soviet aid. Of course, there have been errors and inefficiencies, but the problems plaguing the economy can be explained mainly by Cuba's status as a Third World island in a straitened international climate: the dissolution of favorable trade relations with Eastern Europe, higher oil prices, falling sugar prices and hard currency in desperately short supply. As for Soviet aid, while it has been essential, its effects have been overstated. When properly measured, Soviet aid accounted for 6 to 7 percent of Cuba's national income. That is high by Latin standards but not unique. Other Latin countries, including Bolivia, Costa Rica, Haiti and Honduras, have received comparable levels of aid relative to the size of their economies, but without attaining comparable results.

Even in Eastern Europe, where the official rejection of central planning has been most intense, the picture is not one-sided. Take agriculture, a favorable experience almost never acknowledged in the West. Communist governments did force collectivization onto the peasantry in most Eastern European countries. Nevertheless, agricultural output and incomes rose sharply from the early 1960s to the 1980s. More important, the insecurity and heavy work burdens traditionally attached to individual farming have been mitigated through collective farming. Frederic Pryor, a professor at Swarthmore who studies Eastern European economies, recently wrote:

> In Slovakia about three quarters of the farmers polled agreed that the work of collective farmers was easier than that of individual farmers. In East Germany over half of the 453 farmers polled noted that cooperative farmers had more free time than individual farmers (McCardle and Boenau, 1984) and, moreover, between 55 and 65 percent stressed that in comparison to capitalist farmers, they had no market worries, material or social insecurity, or anxieties over their own economic existence. In Hungary this sentiment was stated more bluntly to me in individual conversations by several specialists: farmers on collective and state farms have too easy a life ever to want to return to individual farming.

Pryor recognizes that such attitudes might change if subsidies to collective or state farms are removed. But even without such subsidies, it is unlikely that primarily individualized farming will achieve the levels of both efficiency and personal security that are attainable when farmers share the costs of machinery, fertilizer, irrigation and harvesting. It should also not be forgotten that farming in Germany, France, Britain, Ireland and other Western European countries, as well as in the United States, depends on gigantic subsidies.

The anticipated changes in quality of life in Eastern Europe attendant upon free-market restructuring were brusquely evoked by Czechoslovakia's transition Vice Premier, Valtr Komarek: "It is not going to be the country house every weekend, but working day and night. It is a big shift from the comfortable life we've been having. People do not realize how comfortably and without worry they have been living up to now." Even if only a minority lived according to the standards described by Komarek—comfortably, without worry and with regular country-house weekends—one can hardly claim that unyielding poverty has been central planning's only legacy.

At the same time, the socialist central planning system had been building toward a crisis since the early 1970s. For the Soviet Union especially, the costs of competition with the West were draining its resources. The attempts to stimulate the socialist economies by opening trade relations with the West were largely failures, leaving Poland, among others, in a Third World–style debt crisis.

But central planning also faced more fundamental difficulties. Over time, it showed itself to be much more capable of mobilizing unutilized resources than managing an economy of increasing complexity. Workers, meanwhile, did lack motivation. This is not, however, a natural byproduct of guaranteed full employment, the once vaunted but now maligned feature of labor conditions under central planning. The problem with authoritarian central planning is that it creates no affirmative work incentives to replace hunger and insecurity, the traditional prods to labor effort associated with capitalism. Material incentives in the socialist countries were too weak because of consumer goods shortages, and moral exhortation failed so long as workers had no control over workplace conditions, production decisions or labor organizations. Repression became the only remaining motivator, and this proved insufficient unless applied with a vehemence worthy of Stalin.

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Myth #2:
Government Intervention Under Capitalism Has Also Been a Failure

Let's look first at Latin America, where statist policies are blamed for that region's continued underdevelopment and, in particular, for the debt crisis and "lost decade" of the 1980s. Beginning in the mid-1930s, most governments of Latin America embarked on heavily interventionist policies. Their main idea was to encourage domestic manufacturing, a policy rooted in the nationalist/populist movements led by such figures as Cárdenas in Mexico, Vargas in Brazil and Perón in Argentina. Through a plan of "import substitution" local industries would develop the capacity to supply manufactured goods that would otherwise be imported, thus providing the motor for Latin industrialization. These policies presented no challenge to existing internal class relations, but they did reject the free-market doctrines of free trade and minimal government. High tariffs discouraged imports while subsidies and public enterprises, which sold their products locally at below-market prices, supported domestic manufacturers.

The model was largely successful for a while. Mexico, Argentina and Brazil did attain their most immediate goal of producing domestic substitutes for nonluxury consumer goods. They all began to develop machine-building capacity as well during the 1960s, and by the early 1970s the industrialized sectors of those economies started to export on the world market. The growth of per capita income was also generally high over the 1950s and 1960s.

In the end the strategy proved unsustainable not because it violated the tenets of free-market capitalism but because other features of capitalism obtruded. Income distribution remained highly unequal, so domestic purchasing power never widened sufficiently to absorb the goods generated by the new industrial capacity. Even more damaging, the Latin economies were never able to break their chronic and debilitating dependence on foreign capital, though this was the explicit aim of the strategy.

Thus, despite the nationalist rhetoric that accompanied import substitution policies, implementation of the strategy relied both on imports of equipment and technology and on investment by multinationals. In Brazil, multinational firms accounted for 44 percent of all domestic sales in 1965, while private domestic firms and state enterprises accounted for 28 percent each. By 1972 multinationals controlled 50 percent of total manufacturing assets in both Brazil and Mexico. This led to chronic financial difficulties, particularly balance of payments deficits, as foreign multinationals remitted profits to the head office back home. By the early 1970s, the model was exhausted. And like well-heeled drug pushers, international bankers moved in, enticing Latin governments, which, strapped for funds and bereft of fresh development ideas, succumbed. International debt thus reactivated the old protectionist/interventionist model, but on an unsustainable foundation of debt. This was the background to the debt crisis of 1982 and the subsequent lost decade of punishing austerity.

There were other problems with the import substitution strategy. Under protectionism some companies refused to risk innovation and never advanced technologically. Those firms

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also guarded their privileges, lobbying the government against domestic competitors seeking similar protection. Also, the formation of vast bureaucracies encouraged corruption, something to which the Latin economies were particularly vulnerable, since the nationalist movements never broke the power of the merchant capitalists and landed elite who traditionally had grown rich through privilege rather than through productive activity. The tradition of capitalists milking the state in turn made public enterprises appear much less efficient than they actually were. In the 1980s, Brazil's huge National Steel Company lost an estimated $2.5 billion selling its products at 40 percent below market prices to private companies, especially multinational auto makers and food processors.

Still, what is remarkable in the history of import substitution is not that such distortions emerged but rather that, despite them, there was impressive economic progress. As with socialist central planning, a modern industrial base was created in a short period of time and per capita incomes rose substantially. But without an egalitarian ideology or redistributive policies, there were immense gaps between rich and poor.

Myth #3: The Paragons of Free-Marketeerism Are The 'Miracle' Economies of East Asia

With typical hyperbole, Ronald Reagan said in his 1985 State of the Union Message: "Many countries in East Asia and the Pacific have few resources other than the enterprise of their own people. But through . . . free markets they've soared ahead of centralized economies." The problem here is that the Asian economies, especially those of Japan and South Korea, the region's greatest success stories, are not now nor have they ever been free-market economies.

In both planning and strategic financing, the state is dominant. It provides business with export subsidies, protection and cheap money. According to the development economist Aiden Foster-Carter, the South Korean agricultural system is virtually "a single gigantic state farm, with the state setting prices, providing inputs and credit, and buying the crop." By any measure, then, the state has been at least as active as in Latin America. So why have Japan and South Korea succeeded over the long term, in contrast to their Latin counterparts? Free markets can take little credit. In the 1950s, the United States saw both Japan and South Korea as bulwarks against communist expansion and gave them tremendous support. It is often forgotten that besides postwar reconstruction grants, Japan received nearly $2.2 billion in U.S. military procurement orders from 1950 to 1953 (equal to $10 billion in 1989 dollars). Such orders accounted for about 65 percent of Japanese exports over those years. Military Keynesianism, the declared U.S. policy in Paul Nitze's famous planning document N.S.C. 68, was not confined to the United States.

Outright aid to South Korea was even greater. More than 80 percent of Korean imports in the 1950s were financed by U.S. economic assistance. And in a parallel to Japan's experience during the Korean War, South Korea flourished with procurement contracts during the Vietnam War years. By 1975 such contracts accounted for no less than one-fifth of South Korea's exports of goods and services.

State intervention in East Asia was also more effective than in Latin America. States that subsidize and protect business always risk the misappropriation of resources. That happened in Japan and South Korea, but to an unusual extent the governments there were able to discipline the corporations they protected and subsidized, forcing them to meet product and quality standards necessary to penetrate export markets. In both cases the state's power over the capitalist class was partly the result of a sweeping U.S.-directed land reform in the years immediately following World War II. The United States backed these reforms in hopes of weakening left peasant insurgencies, but their impact—even given erosion over time—was to break the control of landed elites and their mercantile capitalist allies.

Finally, as a matter of conscious policy Japan and South Korea restricted intervention by foreign multinationals, especially during their phases of most rapid growth. While the state aggressively promoted the appropriation of modern technologies by domestic firms, it was not willing to allow foreign firms much purchase on the economy. The United States tolerated such violations of the free-market canon in the interests of the overall anticommunist alliance.

Japan and South Korea are by no means unqualified successes. Wages were low and working conditions harsh during the main period of development and they remain unacceptable today. At least with Japan, this fact contradicts the image of a country of guaranteed employment, high wages and egalitarian labor practices. In reality, the Japanese labor market is highly segmented between a minority of privileged workers in the core corporations and a majority who work long hours at low pay with little security [see Doug Henwood, "Playing the *Zaiteku* Game," October 3, 1988]. There is much to oppose in the East Asian model even while its basic lesson—that given favorable circumstances intelligent and aggressive government planning can produce remarkable results—remains compelling.

Hollow Victories

The embrace of free-market ideology in the United States and Britain can be traced to the long-term stagnation that became evident by the mid-1970s, most clearly in the falling rate of profit. In the United States the average pretax profit rate for nonfinancial corporations had dropped from 14.8 percent to 5.5 percent between 1965 and 1974, and in Britain the decline was from 17.7 percent in 1964 to 6 percent in 1976. The capitalist response was predictable: restoring profits through lowering the costs of doing business. This meant pushing down wages, reducing taxes for corporations and the rich, eroding organized labor and weakening or removing regulations and workplace restrictions. State power shifted visibly in favor of the rich through the shriveling of social welfare programs and, in Britain, the sale of public enterprises, the latest being the state electrical utility.

Still, economic performance in the United States and Britain in the 1980s was not determined by the free market. Notoriously under Reagan, government deficits, especially to finance military spending, were the driving force behind the U.S. expansion. In Britain, North Sea oil was a windfall for Thatcher,

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increasing exports, raising the value of the pound sterling and thus restraining inflationary pressures. British exports also benefited from Reagan's deficit spending, which by putting more money in the pockets of Americans eager for imports, effectively exported demand to Europe. Yet neither Reagan nor Thatcher would have escaped presiding over financial collapse had their governments, in violation of free-market tenets, not intervened dramatically during the 1987 stock market crash or, currently in the United States, during the savings and loan crisis.

The most proclaimed achievements of these economies have been the victory over inflation, so conspicuous a feature of the 1970s and early 1980s, and the gains in manufacturing productivity. In both countries, antilabor, procapitalist "free-market" policies did play a significant role here, but the fall in oil prices in the 1980s—a matter about which not only Saddam Hussein but also a number of well-placed Texas oilmen had become exercised—also contributed significantly to the decline in inflation. Another advance touted widely by free-marketeers is the growth of national income during the Reagan/Thatcher 1980s. In fact, even the "stagflationist" 1970s produced better average growth performances for both countries. In Britain growth averaged 2.5 percent for the 1970s and 2.2 percent for the 1980s. The comparable U.S. figures are 2.8 percent for the 1970s and 2.7 percent for the 1980s. Moreover, whatever income gains that were attained in the 1980s were very unevenly distributed. In both countries, incomes for the top 1 percent grew by exactly the same amount, 73 percent, in the 1980s. The rich were nourished by real estate investments and the dividends, interest and capital gains associated with the speculative boom in the financial markets. For the lower 80 percent of households, which did not speculate in real estate and financial markets, income increases were slow or nonexistent—the consequence of falling wages and rising taxes in the United States, Reaganite tax cuts having benefited only the well-off; high unemployment, especially in Britain; cuts in social services. Most severely wounded in this High Noon of the free market were the bottom 20 percent, many of whom were plunged into economic ruin. In America some 2 million people are homeless. The number has been estimated to be the same in Britain, equal to 5 percent of the adult population.

Even the gains of the upper classes, tied as they were to debt and speculation, are unraveling. The Milkens, Boeskys, Trumps and Keatings, and their counterparts in Britain—the entrepreneurs on whose unshackled creative energies free-market policies are supposed to depend—face retrenchment, bankruptcy, even prison.

As is now clear in the United States, the fallout from the crumbling credit structure is not limited to those who benefited from its growth. The $500 billion price tag for the collapse and bailout of the savings and loan industry—amounting to $4,000–$5,000 per household over the next forty years—may be only the forward edge of the avalanche.

Bank failures have also risen exponentially. From 1950 to 1981 an average of six banks failed each year, with the worst year seeing seventeen closures. In 1982 forty-two banks collapsed, and between 1985 and 1990 the failure rate ranged between 120 and 206 banks. Similarly, the number of "problem banks" has increased, to the point where the F.D.I.C. considers over 10 percent of all banks in serious financial difficulty. And many of the most vulnerable institutions are also the biggest. Even Citicorp—titan of international finance—now carries on its preferred stock a "speculative grade" rating from Moody's equivalent to one assigned junk bonds.

The speculative frenzy yields parallel dismal figures: $1.3 trillion spent on mergers and buyouts over the 1980s, equal to roughly one-third the amount spent for new productive plant and equipment over the same period; about $13 billion spent just arranging these deals, forty-five times the government's annual outlay for worker health and safety. And because buyouts were financed mostly through debt, corporations now devote more than 60 percent of their pretax profits to interest payments, nearly double the burden carried in the 1970s.

The costs of such financial excess will deepen as the recession proceeds. With sales and profits falling, firms are even less capable of meeting their unprecedented interest obligations. Banks are therefore less willing to bear the risks of new

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lending, and with credit tight, investment, employment and wages will continue to fall, and bankruptcies to rise. It may well be that deficit-financed war spending, the old-fashioned solution to economic crisis, will steer the world economy away from the precipice. Any such success for the big-deficit strategy will only confirm how dependent on big government the Reagan/Bush and the Thatcher/Major economies remain, free-market genuflections notwithstanding. Still, unless the recession is followed by a basic restructuring of financial markets, the advanced economies will return to the same pattern of debt dependency and speculative excess that brought the recession in the first place.

Utopia and Counterrevolution

Even without these contradictions, the U.S. and British economies are clearly too advanced to serve as models for the world's new free-market experiments, though they retain their symbolic allure. Chile, by contrast, looks very much like a plausible model, and indeed is regularly hailed as such in both Latin America and Eastern Europe.

Chile's devotion to free-market economics has by now achieved legendary status. In 1973, even as bodies were still floating in the Mapocho River, which runs through Santiago, Gen. Augusto Pinochet appointed his first team of free-market economists: the famous "Chicago boys," disciples of Milton Friedman. Their program was only a more severe version of the standard I.M.F. shock therapy so common today. The first task was to force wages sharply downward by destroying unions, eliminating wage indexing and freeing prices. Thus, from 1972-74, real wages fell by 42 percent. The second goal was to open the economy to foreign trade and investment by slashing tariffs and other trade barriers and by eliminating regulations affecting direct foreign investment. Third came the attack on the public sector, as state spending was cut and state enterprises sold. The government simultaneously increased its economic influence by taking the role of enforcer, crushing resistance to its economic strategy, such activity in concrete terms meaning the torture and murder of labor organizers.

The first decade of this program, lasting through 1983, was catastrophic despite generous support from foreign, and especially U.S., capital. Real wages continued to decline, unemployment rose and mass living standards fell sharply. Income distribution became significantly more unequal. Exports did increase over this period, mainly because severe wage reductions and exchange-rate devaluations lowered the prices of Chilean goods. But imports rose even more, as local production declined. Import prices, moreover, were very low because of the Chicago boys' decision to maintain an overvalued national currency. As the wealthy captured an increasing share of national income, their demand for luxury imports at bargain prices grew too. The rise in imports led to a balance of payments crisis, which in turn contributed to the debt crisis of the early 1980s.

So Chile's position as the standard-bearer of free-market achievement rests entirely on its performance since 1983. National income has risen for six straight years, at an average annual rate of 6 percent. Unemployment has also fallen steadily, from more than 14 percent in 1983 to less than 7 percent by 1990. Inflation averaged 18.3 percent from 1983 to 1989, which is high in absolute terms but negligible by the hyperinflation standards of other Latin countries. Also unlike other Latin economies, Chile has been able to reduce the burden of foreign debt, from 143 percent of G.N.P. in 1985 to 78 percent in 1989. It has also diversified exports beyond its traditional staple of copper to include lumber, fresh fruit and fish.

But this record presents only a partial picture. While overall growth since the 1983 slump has been good, it began from the subterranean level induced by the first decade of Pinochet's repression and free-market policies. Thus, even with the sustained economic expansion, it was not until 1988 that per capita G.N.P. exceeded its level in 1980, or in 1972, the last full year of Salvador Allende's socialist government.

Economic miracles aside, in Chile poverty, hunger and homelessness have not declined.

The average real wage follows a similar pattern. The 1989 real wage was only slightly above that of 1980 and substantially below what it had been in the mid-1970s. The minimum wage has failed to maintain even that degree of stability, falling sharply in the 1980s. As of 1987, it was 31 percent below that of 1978. This divergence between the average and minimum wage patterns highlights the inequity of income distribution in Chile over the 1980s. Economic miracles aside, poverty, hunger and homelessness have not declined. A recent *Wall Street Journal* article reports that about 1 million people, 8 percent of the country's population, are now homeless, and as of 1989 the Catholic Church found that 46 percent of children under 10 were malnourished. More generally, it is extremely difficult to obtain a reliable picture of social reality under Pinochet, since the government redefined many of the most basic statistical measures of well-being, including such indicators as poverty, malnutrition, unemployment and consumer prices. For example, because it gauged poverty on the basis of durable goods rather than income, it would not count among the poor a family that owned a television, refrigerator, etc. but could not afford a loaf of bread every day.

Chile's rulers have been well aware that mass living standards have failed to rise from the depths of the early 1980s. Indeed, maintaining abysmal wages was a matter of policy, regarded as the key to the country's success in the new export industries. In the Concepción region, an area of heavy lumber production, an economist with the local Chamber of Commerce reported in 1988 that more than 65 percent of the workers receive less than the $140 monthly salary considered necessary for basic family needs.

But even given these fiercely antilabor policies, there is another factor, one having nothing to do with free markets, that has been the primary determinant of Chile's export boom

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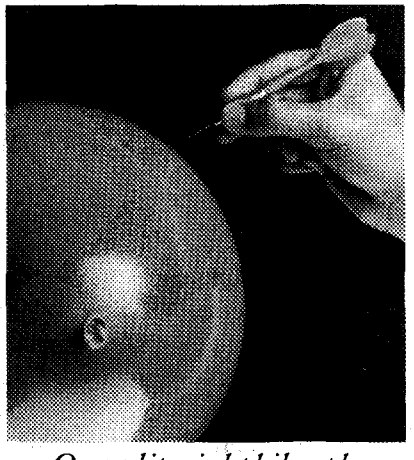

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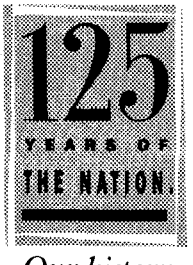

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and, more generally, its economic success since the early 1980s: the rise of copper prices. The price of copper on the wholesale international market more than doubled from 1984 to 1989. As a consequence, Chile has enjoyed unprecedented trade surpluses. For 1988, the surplus was $2.2 billion; prior to 1986, it had never exceeded $1 billion.

Chile's ability to reduce its foreign debt burden since 1983 is largely a result of the country's trade surplus. But also of great importance have been its debt-equity swap agreements, whereby a foreign creditor assumes ownership of a public enterprise in exchange for writing off an equivalent share of the government's debt. Here, however, the fine print is crucial: Until 1990, investors were not permitted to repatriate profits from debt-equity investments in Chile, allowing the government to garner the benefits of these swaps without suffering their most immediate effects. Now that profit repatriations have begun, there will be a drain on Chile's still favorable international balances. The full picture of Chile's post-1983 turnaround, therefore, is decidedly unmiraculous.

Post-Fordists and Their Hot-Air Factory

The adoption of free-market, open-border policies by governments throughout the world coincides with probably the single most important trend in the world economy today: the increased integration of national economies in trade, finance and investment. To some degree the internationalization of capital is inevitable given that new technologies in communications and transportation allow products, ideas and people to traverse the globe at an unprecedented rate. But the driving force, certainly with respect to production if less so in trade and finance, has been the stagnation of corporate profits in the advanced capitalist economies since the early 1970s. The result: widescale corporate restructuring to cut costs. And the swiftest and most assured method of cutting costs is to lower wages and taxes, hence the increasing mobility of capital, placing workers and governments throughout the world in internecine competition to attract private investment.

Many on the left have argued that there are natural limits to capital's mobility—that firms must always place a high premium on proximity to their equipment producers, repair technicians, suppliers of inventory and spare parts, and major markets; and that high-tech production requires skilled workers who can be found in sufficient supply only in advanced countries. Indeed, by pushing the logic of this position, some have concluded that gains in high technology will lead to the demise of "Fordism"—the large-scale, mass-production corporate form—and its displacement by a "post-Fordist" model in which highly skilled, well-educated workers can be spread among small-scale, clean-producing and relatively autonomous high-tech cottage industries. In other words, in the post-Fordist world, technology itself could bring an end to alienating work, the goal for which socialists have traditionally fought but never attained.

The flaw in this reasoning was recently demonstrated by the labor economist Harley Shaiken, who examined the operations of two engine-assembly plants of a major, unnamed U.S. auto maker: one in the United States and one in Mexico. Only the newer of the two plants, in Mexico, utilized cutting-edge production technologies. Yet it did not rely on experienced workers with sophisticated training. Rather, almost all of the workers in the Mexican plant were in their early 20s, recent graduates of a local vocational school. Nevertheless, the plant operated spectacularly, achieving, according to Shaiken, "comparable machine efficiency, labor productivity and quality to the U.S. plant within its first two and one-half years of operation." At the same time, wage costs were less than 10 percent of what they were at the U.S. plant. As Shaiken recognizes, one cannot thus generalize that multinationals are essentially free to move anywhere with any set of production technologies, regardless of local conditions. The point is that the most advanced technological operations *can* be successfully operated by a minimally trained, inexperienced and low-paid work force. And if this can be accomplished in one place, it surely can be repeated elsewhere. Just in the past month Ford announced it would invest $700 million to expand an engine-assembly plant in northern Mexico; meanwhile it has been retrenching operations and selling assets in the United States.

The left needs to be confident in its fundamental economic positions; it must not be afraid to be socialist.

The opening of national economies to trade and investment via free-market policies will only accentuate capital's clout in confrontations with labor and government. Thus, as governments throughout the world continue to clamor for free-market capitalism, pressure will mount for more wage concessions, less unionization, more austerity and less government regulation of business—i.e., an increasing surrender to the dictates of the capitalist class. The consequences will be spelled out in replications of the Chilean model or worse: desperation of the many, enrichment of the few.

Shining Paths

Alternatives to this bleak prospect can come only from the imagination and assertion of renewed left movements around the world. The left needs, at a minimum, to be confident in its fundamental economic positions. In plain terms this means it must not be afraid to be socialist, to counter free-market celebration and to defend economic planning and an activist state as a necessary brake on the assertions of capital.

The reasoning behind such positions is straightforward. First, an export-led and multinational-led investment strategy cannot work for everyone. It is logically impossible for all countries to run trade surpluses, since the surpluses of some countries must be exactly balanced by deficits in others. Similarly, an investment inflow to some countries will be exactly matched by an outflow—a "capital flight"—from others. Thus, even on its own terms, the model will have to fail in at least as many countries as it succeeds. This underscores the destructive downward spiral in which countries compete for

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multinational investment by pushing wages and taxes as low as possible. Any alternative to the export-led open economy, wherever it may be pursued, will require active state intervention. One strategy is to strengthen local markets for domestically produced goods by increasing wages and reducing income inequality—a variation on some of the features of the populist import substitution strategy. However, any effort to raise wages significantly without concurrently increasing productivity in domestic industry will encourage hyperinflation, as occurred in Peru under the government of Alan García. Thus state planning becomes necessary to coordinate all the activities that can raise both productivity and wages: investment in industrial plant and equipment; the improvement of infrastructure and marketing arrangements; and, especially over the long term, the raising of education, health and housing standards so that people's lives can become more productive, as well as more secure and perhaps enjoyable.

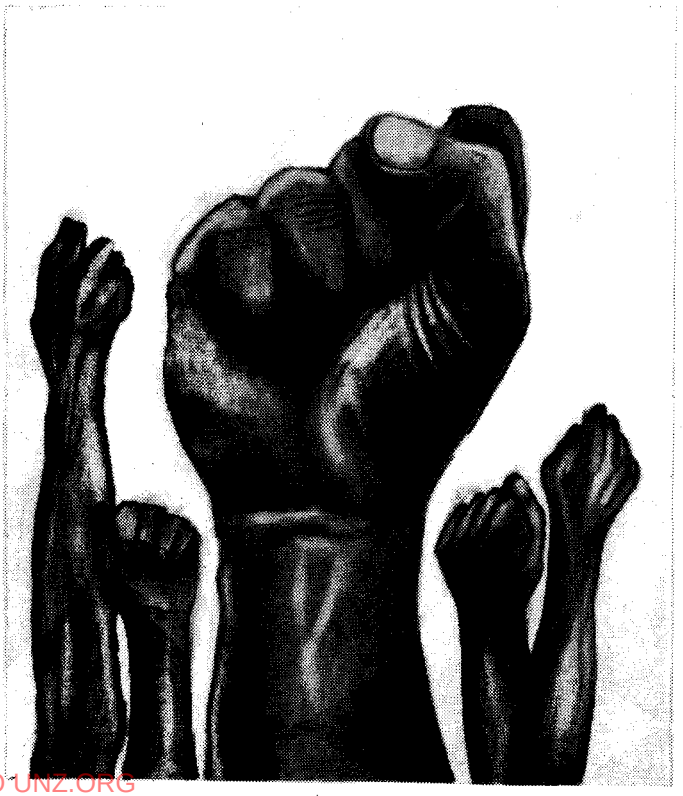
Planning of this sort does not imply the eradication of markets or the suppression of democracy. Quite the opposite. In the right context, markets are the most efficient, indeed the only effective tools for establishing some prices and transmitting some information as well as rewarding people fairly for differences in ability and effort. The experience in the socialist countries has made clear that government planners should not squander their energy on inevitably ineffective efforts at controlling the production and marketing of soap, fresh fruit or blue jeans.

However, the planning system does need to unshackle from the market's grasp the functions that historical experience shows it performs badly—the setting of an economy's overall development strategy, the guarantee of a minimum level of economic security, the generation of a fair distribution of income, wealth and economic power, the control over the destructive side effects of profit-seeking activity in the workplace, the environment and elsewhere. The challenge, as Diane Elson has written in *New Left Review*, is to strike a balance by utilizing markets extensively but in a framework in which the markets themselves are socialized. As Elson has discussed, such "socialization of the market" would entail, at a minimum, the following:

§ *Social control of investment.* Investment decisions are the primary determinant of an economy's overall development trajectory. The consequences of relying almost entirely on profit incentives in guiding investment activity are evident now in the United States and Britain, where for a decade the obsessive and debt-dependent drive for short-term gain has wasted these economies' financial and entrepreneurial resources. Through the public allocation of credit, public ownership of key firms and industries or other mechanisms, public institutions must at least set a framework to channel the energies of private profit-seeking. All governments already participate in investment decisions to some extent, but their customary role is mainly to act as public agents of private capital. The goal of democratic investment planning would be to represent the popular will as against the drive for profitability, especially in the realm of large-scale investment decisions. In other words, the commanding heights of the economy must be governed democratically, not through the dictatorship of private capital—and it goes without saying that democratization of the economic process has to be accompanied by democratization of the political process.

§ *Socialize the labor market.* Labor markets cannot constitute a fair voluntary exchange as long as capitalists control the means of livelihood and workers must sell their labor to subsist. A government's commitment to meeting people's basic needs in health, education and housing reduces workers' insecurity and increases their productivity, thereby strengthening their relative position in the labor market. But workers must rely on their own united efforts to attain even this minimum degree of labor market leverage as well as to push beyond, toward higher living standards, more security and better working conditions. Unionism is in eclipse in Western countries and under attack virtually everywhere. Union strength will continue to erode as long as multinational firms are increasingly able to pit workers in one region or country against those in others. Thus, in the contemporary world more than ever, Marx's call for workers of the world to unite is no mere slogan; it is practical necessity.

§ *Socialize information.* Marx wrote that capitalism "fetishizes" commodities—meaning that in market arrangements the social conditions under which commodities are produced are obscured as consumers attach interest only to the commodities themselves and their price. As Elson stresses, a socialized market would require democratic institutions to lift the market's informational shroud: to disseminate systematically information about the processes that shape our lives and environment and that produce and distribute commodities. People who eat Perdue chickens, for example, not only should know the chicken's price; they should know that the price reflects Perdue's antilabor practices—a high proportion of workers receiving minimum wages, no benefits and suffering



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from repetitive-motion illnesses due to speedups—as well as brutishness toward animals. Similarly, corporations' lying campaigns portraying their ecological commitment can be opposed successfully only through increased public consciousness of the effects of how we produce and consume.

To the extent that capitalists can suppress this sort of information, they can manipulate our decision making as consumers, gutting the idea, so appreciated by free-market economists, of "consumer sovereignty." In the context of a vibrant left movement, access to heretofore hidden information can be a powerful tool for restraining the market's destructive tendencies. It will be central, for example, in furthering a coalition between labor organizers and environmentalists, since such a coalition will depend on the ability to map environmental strategies that do not simultaneously diminish workers' already eroding rights and living standards.

Considered in themselves, the ideas of socializing investment, the labor market and information are hardly earth shattering. All have been practiced with varying degrees of commitment and success in virtually every country. In a capitalist context, Japan and South Korea have become economic icons through their governments' strong involvement in major investment decisions. The boycott and sanctions movement against apartheid shows what an informed and aroused citizenry can effect; so, for that matter, does the dramatic change in attitudes toward smoking. The conditions enjoyed by workers in Sweden demonstrate what a highly organized and persistent labor movement can win.

The necessary fusion of labor and environmental struggles points to a deeper truth. The essence of the socialist challenge, as André Gorz writes, is "the striving after a society in which the rationality of the maximization of productivity and profit is locked into a total social framework in such a way that it is subordinated to non-quantifiable values and goals, where economically rational labor no longer plays the principal role in the life of society or of the individual." Hence a left-labor movement today in strategic coalitions can seize the time only if it leads the debate on the social and political implications of new and old technologies and how they affect the natural, that is to say, social environment.

Only socialism can challenge the capitalist rationality of hunger amid opulence and growth via natural destruction. Socialism can also confront the emergent capitalist rationality of casualized labor, half-time labor, semi-employed labor, and translate this into a social opportunity: less-alienating, productive jobs and a shorter working day. Capitalism can define itself only within the parameters of market rationality, whether in the "industries" of work or leisure. Socialism puts economic rationality at the service of individual and social autonomy.

It is in pursuit of this autonomy that economic planning and an activist state should be seen as our indispensable tools: tools for defending and broadening democracy, for raising mass living standards rather than acquiescing in the imposition of mass austerity, for protecting ourselves against the brutalities of an unfettered free market and for recapturing socialism's great life-affirming vision. □

EDITORIALS.

(*Continued From Page 221*)

believe . . . Bring them home . . . Kick some butt . . .

January 26: We leave for Washington in an apprehensive mood. There are rumors that the D.C. police have been getting ugly, that massive counterdemonstrations are planned, that celebrities are reluctant to speak. While we wait to set off I chat with Alex Molnar, the father of a marine and organizer of Military Families Support Network. He's carrying a plastic shopping bag full of little American flags stamped with the peace symbol. "We have to hold on to the flag," he says, and hands me one.

In the "celebrities' tent," there's soda, cold cuts and folding chairs. Molly Yard sits in a corner composing a speech on note cards. Jesse Jackson comes in, looking as he always does to me, both proud and slightly hurt, and shakes hands all around. But the labor part of the Rainbow is mostly missing, deterred by pro-war fever among the rank and file, I'm told; and the only Congressman on hand is Harlem's Charles Rangel. "Where's the rest of Hollywood?" I ask Tim Robbins, who looks, in real life, much like the bemused and affable Viet vet he plays in *Jacob's Ladder*. "I've been on the phone all week," he tells me, "but they're scared."

Still, it is perhaps the perfect peace march: spirited and dignified, nonsectarian, pluralistic, people of all types and colors, including novices—students especially, by the tens of thousands—taking their first stand. The surprising thing, for a sixties vet, is the lack of rancor, the calm and purposeful mood. Only the most exotic fringe groups have followed the "enemy of my enemy" logic to an affection for Saddam Hussein, and most people don't seem to regard George Bush as an enemy, only a weak and foolish prince. One sign advises that the best way to destroy Iraq is to send over some S&L directors. "Send George Bush, send Dan Quayle," we chant, "send Neil Bush when he gets out of jail!" But the best chant of all is perhaps the least melodic: "George Bush! Saddam Hussein! *Go to your rooms!*"

There are 250,000 people present, the march organizers tell us, though the number collapses to 150,000 in *Newsweek*, 75,000 in *The New York Times*. Looking out over the crowd, I wonder what will happen to these people when they return to their communities and campuses, to the omnipresent yellow ribbons, to the flags that don't have peace symbols stamped on them, to the braying chants of "U.S.A.! U.S.A.!" I wonder if they will have the courage of the Viet vets who march with us in a huge contingent of massed American flags, these men who once marched to war and know better than the rest of us that no matter how enticing the drumbeats, war is not the way. Just before 5, a cold wind comes up and people begin to drift away in clumps. But at the far edge of the park I can see that marchers are still arriving in neat contingents, flags waving and handmade signs held high.

BARBARA EHRENREICH

Barbara Ehrenreich's most recent book is The Worst Years of Our Lives *(Pantheon).*

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M*U*S*H

MARGARET SPILLANE

Q: What do Hiroshima, Nagasaki and Baghdad have in common?
A: Nothing . . . yet.

—Jay Leno,
The Tonight Show, *January 15*

What a shock. I'd just spent the first two weeks of 1991 in Ireland, and was beginning to take for granted that country's deeply researched and reasoned media coverage of the massing tensions in the Persian Gulf. But when I got home, switched on the TV and saw the first bombs dropping on Baghdad, it was clear that the Irish, in their overwhelming support for a diplomatic solution, were missing the point: A Middle East peace conference could never have realized the goals of those Desert Stormtroopers in the White House—namely, to tie a yellow ribbon round the grim picture of a bank-busted, recessionary economy and bury it deeper than Saddam Hussein's bunker.

Television demonstrates what a relief this war has offered to many public figures. George Bush has lost his lockjaw look and picked up some Reaganesque by-golly, as in his reference to "the darndest search-and-destroy effort that has ever been undertaken." Now he's on a first-name basis with the enemy, wrapping just enough of his fake homefolks accent around the word Saddam so that it sometimes sounds like Sodom, sometimes Satan.

George Will looks visibly relieved as well. All those years of Sunday-mannered conservatism have paid off: With current events absolving him, the choirboy can start lobbing those stored-up cherry bombs. Less than thirty hours after the first shot was fired on Iraq, Will showed up on *Nightline*, his eyes flashing with a possessed, triumphant light. "Someone should send Saddam Hussein the PBS series on the Civil War!" spake the hyperventilating Will in a voice so like Dr. Strangelove's that I expected to see one of his hands leap forward to keep the other from rocketing skyward. Three days later on *This Week With David Brinkley*, Will was lyrical and fervent as he prophesied: "There's more to S.D.I. than the Patriot, as you will learn to your pleasure sooner or later!" And what delight to see consumer-advocate ninnies eating crow at the vindication of "the military-industrial complex, much maligned since Eisenhower coined the phrase. . . . It turns out they make some pretty good products." Only a party pooper would show Will stories by Fred Kaplan in *The Boston Globe* demonstrating that U.S. infantry fighting vehicles are frighteningly inadequate for desert showdowns.

The networks have undergone a Moonie-style conversion to the doctrine that the only expert is a general with a pension.

Life's been a lot easier for the anchors, too, who no longer have to pretend attentiveness to the fine points of Third World culture. Hear Jingo Belle Deborah Norville ask no one in particular, "I wonder what language they speak in Kuwait?" Hear Neo-Nativist Bryant Gumbel giggle on camera when asking Norville, after a Colonel Yacoub finished offering his views on the Middle East, "Did you understand a word he said? I didn't!" Gumbel then went on to tell a story from the Afghan war, when he was sent a guest he'd been assured was "high, high up in the mujahedeen" ("a big muckety-muck," offered Norville). Well, continued Gumbel, they got this guy on camera and "he proceeded to talk and . . . " (Gumbel makes a face of astonished incomprehension). What language was he speaking? asked Norville. Gumbel: "I have NO idea!" Norville: "Blubbedyblubbedyblubbedy!" Gumbel: "You're just trying to restrain yourself from laughing!" Infidels say the darndest things.

This ecumenical embrace was aired on Monday morning, January 21—the holiday honoring Nobel Peace Prize laureate Martin Luther King Jr. King was conspicuously absent from NBC's programming: I watched the network's news from 6 A.M., and King's name was not heard until a brief snippet of video at 9:35 A.M., showing Coretta Scott King delivering the annual "State of the Dream" address. But they didn't bother to air Coretta's voice declaring, "In 1991 we have to work closer together to protest and march and speak out more often, until preparing for education is a greater priority in every nation than preparing for war." Instead, on the heels of the King item they aired one of those appalling public service announcements that, under the slogan "The more you know . . . ," offers some of the kind of cheery, quick-fix, no-cash solutions to the education crisis (play games with your kids, count the stars together, etc.) that Poppy had in mind when he called himself the Education President. (Speaking of commercials, it would have been interesting to have spent the past five months on Madison Avenue, finding out how products were being packaged to get maximum bang for their war bucks. A number of commercials have been gulf-streamed into P.S.A.s. One features a preachy-dad voiceover reminding you how much petroleum you waste because your foot won't Just Say No to the accelerator: "Let's put our energy into saving it," says another quick-fix apostle, as the logo for Texaco floats over the screen.

The silencing of Coretta Scott King is one of the more egregious insults by a TV news-reporting establishment that, in the face of massive censorship by the military of all Middle East war coverage, has been only too eager to show the Pentagon how well it behaves on the home front as well. On *Donahue*, Phil cited *The New York Times*'s foreign correspondent Malcolm Browne, who likened the new cut-to-Pentagon-standards media corps to Propaganda Kompagnien, Goebbels's troop of war journalists specially trained to make Nazi military exploits look ever fresh and glorious. Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting's recent media survey exposes the networks as having snuggled into Poppy's back pocket for some time now, virtually suppressing news of popular opposition since August. And it's not just an absence of protest footage; FAIR reports that "none of the foreign policy experts associated with the peace movement—such as Edward Said, Noam Chomsky or the scholars of the Institute

Margaret Spillane is a writer and painter living in New Haven.

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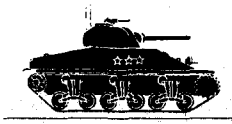

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for Policy Studies—appeared on any nightly network news program." Of the nominal TV coverage accorded to Jesse Jackson's trip to Iraq, "none of these stories included any quotes from Jackson." The networks have undergone a Moonie-style mass conversion to the doctrine that the only true expert is a general with a pension. Look at the Hannibal of the Ho Chi Minh Trail, Gen. William Westmoreland, on *Good Morning America*, referring to the Iraqi leader as "Sadat Hussein": Put a burnoose over their heads and they're all the same.

Clearly, untold amounts of network energy have gone into making this one a breathtakingly telegenic war, from the snappy America-at-War graphics to the strict policing of the East-West sartorial frontier: stateside correspondents almost metallically smooth and hard looking, with crisp haircuts and sharp suits; gulf correspondents rough-and-ready in tousled hair, wearing something very Banana Republic—open-necked with epaulettes—even if they don't caravan any farther than the hotel bar. A recent David Letterman comment about one NBC war correspondent reinforces the new dogma that never the frontline/anchor twain shall meet. "Arthur Kent won't get Tom Brokaw's job—he hasn't got the hair. Kent's got field hair."

The word "antiseptic" has been applied to the Pentagon's warfare style thus far: what a break for network chiefs, who have to contend with the fact that far more Americans have color TV sets today than at the outset of the Vietnam War. What could make the networks' war-design departments happier than military briefers like Rear Adm. Conrad Lautenbacher? "This is not a video game," admonishes Lautenbacher, as he proceeds to show us a video game. The admiral knows that America wants no more maimed bodies served nightly on the news. Here's something you can watch while you eat your dinner: no soldier bleeding copiously into a Southeast Asian jungle, but a neat electronic color-field painting in which a red blot flowers against green geometry. Both the image and the explanation—"That was a strategic target which I prefer to identify as a strategic target"—are nonspecific enough to be soothing. When pundits and generals talk about "the mistakes of Vietnam," messy, distressing news is at the top of their list.

One way to avoid messiness is to avoid broadening the discussion—hence the small pool of military pensioners as the experts, and virtually no coverage of dissent. But an even more effective tool is velocity: Keep the segments short, go for the yes-or-no answer and banish even the tiniest opportunity for pause and reflection. Cut-to-commercial music is being used with far greater frequency to snuff the sentences of those who can't keep it snappy.

While such breathless charging through current events has been the American TV standard for years, in the past few weeks the acceleration has been dramatic. One place where it's well on display, along with the networks' cynicism and opportunism, is in the ubiquitous instant programming segments with names like "Kids Ask About War" and "The Littlest Victims." On the day after the war started, *Good Morning America*'s Miriam Hernandez was in an eighth-grade classroom in Arlington, Virginia, sticking a microphone in each child's face and asking what she or he thought about the war. Woe to the children who didn't understand the principle of the soundbite; before their sentences ended they were cut off with a crisp "Thank you."

Anyone who's at home all day can tell you that news reports and commentary go on not just in the standard morning and evening slots but throughout the day on a variety of talk and magazine-format shows. As in newsland, the keep-it-moving protocol rules. On ABC's *Home* show, Mexican-American actor Edward James Olmos was permitted to talk on acceptable Latino-makes-good topics (teaching kids how to avoid barrio warfare and drugs). But with the gulf war just a few days old, Olmos was concerned about another minority. "Now that this war has started," he said, "how are we going to look at Americans who are Arab or Muslim?" "That's a question that's gonna take some time to answer," offered host Gary Collins. "Let's take a break." But instead of an answer, after the commercials we got the Harlem Globetrotters.

Sally Jessy Raphael did her bit for the war: Twenty women whose men got shipped out to Saudi Arabia were given makeovers. Their guys in the gulf will then receive the before-and-after photos. The show—two-thirds of which was pre-empted by military briefings—managed to give a lot of weeping women in new hairdos a chance to air their feelings to the tune of about seven words apiece. Here's a taste:

Sally: Hold it together, Amy. You okay? . . . There are not a lot of men

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who have . . . women as beautiful as you. . . .
Amy: They pampered us a lot. . . .
Sally (points to photos): That's the old Amy and this is the new. Do you think you can keep that up?
Amy: . . . I don't think so, without them at home.

Tabloid TV products like *A Current Affair* manage to sandwich in plenty of human-interest gulf stories between their usual servings of "Funny Man Murder Mystery" and "Pasta al Porno." *A Current Affair* allows such savvy war profiteers as Dr. Joyce Brothers to telescope nimbly a thirty-second housecall into instant War and Remembrance. To a 10-year-old girl whose uncle had just left for Desert Storm, a war only five days old at that point, Brothers inquired, "Do you think this war has made you grow up too soon?"

And instant oral-history projects too: As soon as the war commenced, *Hard Copy* dispatched correspondents to America's six time zones to see how The People were living with an hours-old war 6,000 miles away. In Los Angeles, correspondent Dean Vallas thrust a microphone at men in a shelter for the homeless, demanding, "Are you supporting your country?" "The American voice was as one," exulted *Hard Copy*'s reporter Barry Nolan, who was corroborated by a man in Anchorage who declared the war "great" and pronounced his response to be "every true American's opinion. . . . And anybody who doesn't like it shouldn't be here." In Greenwich Village, an entire station house of police officers attached yellow ribbons to their badges. There were no reports of reprimands for this violation of uniform code—I wonder if superior officers would gaze so mildly if officers dangled pink ACT UP triangles from their badges.

Only one dissenting voice wiggled through the loud patriot chorus. Traveling across the Southwest by train, an elderly woman told *Hard Copy*'s correspondent Rafael Abramovitz: "I don't want to lose my grandsons. . . . It's a whole way of life [in the Middle East] that we don't understand. And we are imposing ourselves on them."

Joan Rivers's early contributions to the war effort included her reporting the fact that actress Margot Kidder had announced her opposition to the bombing of Iraq. Joan then added the utter falsehood that Margot had backed down on her antiwar position with the words, "I'm a kidder."

Joan's gulfward comic aim hasn't strayed from the easy bull's-eye of Saddam-bashing ("He's sixty feet underground? I'd be happy if it was just six feet! . . . Do you believe how ugly he is? And in his country they make the *women* wear veils"). Jay Leno's been delivering much of the same to *Tonight Show* audiences: "I just found out that in 1969, Saddam Hussein got a degree in law. . . . If we'd known he was a lawyer, we would have killed him back in August! . . . More bad news for Saddam Hussein: Rand McNally just came out with the 1991 atlas—and Iraq is not in it."

It wasn't too much of a surprise that *Saturday Night Live*'s very first show after Bush launched the gulf war would not risk alienating its beer-boy constituency with any daring takeoffs on the U.S. forces' mad-dog Commander in Chief. One *SNL* segment—a satire on John McLaughlin's Sunday-morning news squabbles—had terrific potential. This time it was called "The Sinatra Report." So why didn't *SNL* go bananas on the gulf and let Old Blue Eyes take the blame? Instead of letting Frankie flay peaceniks and caress warheads, they had him take uncharacteristically safe shots at Milli Vanilli and MTV.

Most disappointing of all was the guest host: Sting, who's written songs against nuclear holocaust and had photo ops with Amazon Indian chiefs to save the rain forest, uttered not a syllable against the war.

But "Wayne's World," *SNL*'s regular sendup of public-access programming, provided an ingenious summation of the war issues that truly preoccupy the network brass. "Wayne's World" usually finds two adolescent boys, Wayne and his sidekick, Garth, doing their community cable broadcast from Wayne's parents' basement. On the Saturday after the first bombs fell on Iraq, they've been awake for three days straight, drinking Jolt cola in a room filled with televisions, doing nonstop monitoring of all the networks' war coverage. Now they're ready to announce their "Best/Worst List of Media Coverage." Among the picks were, Best name of a correspondent: Brit Hume ("Sounds like James Bond"). Best military hardware name: Scud. Worst map: *Nightline*'s ("I built a volcano in the third grade that was better than that"). Worst cut-to-commercial music: CNN's ("It's just drums! Hey, spend some money: It's a war"). □

'Below the Battle'

CASEY BLAKE

"The kind of war which we are conducting," wrote Randolph Bourne in 1917, "is an enterprise which the American government does not have to carry on with the hearty cooperation of the American people but only with their acquiescence." At the dawn of modern warfare, Bourne had a profound intuition: Total war does not require the total mobilization of public opinion. Governments do not need an aroused citizenry marching lockstep to patriotic slogans to mount an industrial war. A passive, fatalistic populace, convinced of its own powerlessness, better serves the cause of war than a mass of hysterical nationalists, who might believe that they had the right to set war aims and the terms of the peace. "The government of a modern organized plutocracy does not have to ask whether the people want to fight or understand what they are fighting for," Bourne argued, "but only whether they will tolerate fighting."

With the war in the Persian Gulf, Bourne's words once again seem prophetic. Despite the angry jingoism of counterdemonstrators at antiwar rallies—and despite the opinion polls taking the emotional pulse of the country the night of the first bombings—the public mood appears more resigned than militaristic. Most supporters of the war echo sentiments that Bourne recorded at the start of World War I: "The war is a bad business, which somehow got fastened on us. They won't want to go, but they've got to go." Bush's own actions before the invasion have intentionally fostered such fatalism. When Senators Bob Dole and Richard Lugar encouraged him to call a special session of Congress after the election to drum up popular support for his policy, Bush cannily refused, choosing instead to wait with the Democratic leadership and postpone debate until he had left the Congress no option but what was essentially a declaration of war. Dole and

Casey Blake teaches history at Indiana University and is the author of Beloved Community: The Cultural Criticism of Randolph Bourne, Van Wyck Brooks, Waldo Frank, and Lewis Mumford *(University of North Carolina Press).*

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BEATING ABOUT EXECUTIVE PRIVILEGE

No sooner did he say—with a vibrato
of vainglory in the saying,
less grievance than gratification—
"I've had it!" than he
was moved, or behooved, to equivocate
his past possession by a less
martial note (having had it, does one
ever get it back?),
and he then observed, "I'm not trying to sound
the tocsin of war." And by that phrase,
in what we are pleased to call the Media
(denoting the mid-
province of speech, neither phatic nor refined),
panic was sown: "To sound the *what*?"
asked one reporter, floored. "What do TOXINS
sound like anyway,
and how in hell would *he* know?" Another phoned
from Camp David to inquire if
tocsins were like trumpets and, being so,
could sound . . . uncertain.
CNN, ever mindful of literary
precedent in White House matters,
heard "dachshunds of war" and pondered if this
could be a condign
allusion to "cry 'Havoc!' and let slip
the dogs of war"—the kind of thing
regularly bruited about the green
quadrangles of Yale.

It is not dogs which have been let slip, not
dachshunds of war, nor the other
kind of toxin (though appropriate
enough, that poison,
to our circumstance): the dread alarum
which he was "not trying to sound"
the world has heard, and because *he* has had
whatever it was,
we are having it. Across the country, night
by night, our sleepless bedrooms glow
with the blue languor of opium dens.
Who was it first said
TV is the opiate of the masses?
If he was right, and we are hooked,
then war must be the crack of presidents . . .
All week we watch as
the huge projectiles rise like . . . penises,
and we wonder, before quashing
such speculation as absurd, childish,
out of the question,
if on either side—*our* constitutional
dictatorship and *their* frenzied
following—we are mustered and mastered
by anything more
than such erectile follies; whether all our
bad history is but the mauled
extension of our rulers' . . . yes, just so,
of our rulers' *rule*?

Richard Howard

Lugar thought it was necessary to mobilize popular opinion in support of this war; Bush knew better. Once all other options appeared to be foreclosed—by an arbitrary deadline, United Nations resolutions and the presence of half a million troops in the sand—Congress and the American people were ready to "tolerate fighting."

Bourne's insights into the waning power of public opinion during wartime deserve renewed attention today. Most readers of *The Nation*, if they know of Bourne, remember him as a fiery critic of his former mentor John Dewey and the other pro-war liberals at *The New Republic*. Bourne's fierce attacks on Dewey and pragmatism, followed by his tragic death at the age of 32 in the influenza epidemic of 1918, transformed him into an icon of intellectual resistance for subsequent generations of young radicals. During the Vietnam War, Bourne was rediscovered by members of the New Left, who (mistakenly) read his polemics against Dewey as a dry run for their own attacks on cold war liberals fighting to make Southeast Asia safe for modernization theory.

Bourne deserves to be remembered as something more than a romantic loner speaking truth to power during wartime. His protest of the war did not reflect a simple faith in the efficacy of the individual conscience. Bourne was no Thoreau in Wilson's America. Instead, Bourne's radicalism drew on his hopes for the renewal and reconstruction of popular solidarity as a counter to the bureaucratic organization of the wartime state. "All our idealisms must be those of future social goals in which all can participate," Bourne declared, "the good life of personality lived in the environment of the Beloved Community." A civic culture committed to participatory democracy—what Bourne meant by the "Beloved Community"—remained his touchstone throughout the war, steeling his resistance to progressive fantasies about Wilsonian diplomacy as it sharpened his awareness of the erosion of community life under war conditions.

Bourne's vision of democratic community enabled him to see clearly that modern war rested on popular apathy and despair, not patriotism. Patriotism, in Bourne's view, derived from particularistic loyalties to friends, family members and a specific place. Modern war undermined such loyalties in the drive for efficient organization and centralized

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command. War was "the health of the state," in Bourne's famous phrase—and not the health of the nation—precisely because it fed the growth of the state at the expense of other institutions more responsive to popular control. The sheer power of the modern state was nowhere more evident than in its ability to mobilize the personnel and resources necessary for total war in the absence of any massive support for the cause.

Yet Bourne was acutely aware of the allure that war had for intellectuals, who dreamed of putting the military state to work for their own principles. It was not only because progressives had come to treasure efficiency over ethics that men like Walter Lippmann and Herbert Croly enlisted in the war effort. Rather, it was the fact that both the intellectuals and the political elite had come to pride themselves on their distance from the public mind, which they saw mired in an antiquated provincialism unsuited for the stern realism of global war. Bourne, by contrast, tried to write from the perspective of those "below the battle." They were the "young men and women, in full possession of their minds, faculties, and virtue, who feel themselves profoundly alien to the work which is going on around them." Such people felt "neither patriotism nor fear, only an apathy toward the war, faintly warmed into a smoldering resentment at the men who have clamped down the war-pattern upon [them]." Writing from "below the battle" was an implicit acknowledgment of Bourne's inability to affect military strategy or foreign policy. But it was also a strategy of hope: hope that the other side of public resignation was a healthy suspicion of the torrent of propaganda from above.

There are certainly dangers in mechanically applying Bourne's position to the present war. Bourne's view of the potential for resistance in the nonmobilization of the public may strike us as too optimistic today. The apparent fascination with the prime-time war served up by the networks, with their Nintendo symbols for death and destruction, is a reminder that fatalism can breed indifference to the human costs of war. By the same token, Bourne's pessimism about any war waged from above has the potential to mislead us about the nature of this particular war. Liberal and leftist writers such as John Judis, Michael Lerner and Michael Walzer have made important arguments about the ways in which the coalition against Iraq, the U.N. resolutions or even the war itself might advance the prospects for security in the Middle East, resolution of Arab-Israeli conflicts and the Palestinian issue, and the cause of international law in general. Those arguments demand a careful response, and not empty sloganeering, from the peace movement.

Nonetheless, Bourne's grim skepticism about intellectuals' ability to create "a cosmically efficacious and well-bred war" remains a useful corrective to wishful thinking. His example should temper any belief that we can significantly influence Bush's foreign policy aims and somehow turn his war for a "new world order" into a war that will resolve all the problems of the Middle East in one fell swoop. Media coverage of the war and constant punditry encourage a feeling of vicarious power to affect immediate events that may not correspond to reality. Given Bush's disdain for public opinion in the months leading up to the conflict, how likely is he to turn to outsiders for counsel about a just peace after an American victory?

What Bourne's position can offer us is a way of seeing through the polarized images of Bush supporters and peace activists screaming at one another that flicker across our television screens. Bourne's insistence on staying "below the battle" reminds us that these two sides do not define the entirety of public opinion in the United States. My guess is that most people are still bewildered about the reasons for this war and remain profoundly ambivalent about its likely cost. The students I've spoken with who identify themselves as conservatives, but who then go on to make devastating criticisms of Bush's policies, are just one indication of this widespread confusion and anxiety. Such young people may not want to identify themselves as "malcontents," as Bourne did; they certainly don't think of themselves as "radicals." But they are full of fear and uncertainty about their own stake in a crisis they did not create and cannot control. They are indeed "below the battle." Our obligation is to remain there with them. □

Saddam Who?

STEPHEN R. SHALOM

SADDAM HUSSEIN AND THE CRISIS IN THE GULF. *By Judith Miller and Laurie Mylroie. Times Books. 268 pp. $5.95.*

As U.S. troops rushed to the Persian Gulf last summer, Judith Miller of *The New York Times* and Laurie Mylroie of Harvard University rushed to produce an instant book on the crisis. The result, written in three weeks and published in a fourth, appeared a few months before the U.S. attack on Iraq. Wars require their villains, and *Saddam Hussein and the Crisis in the Gulf* shows how villainous Saddam is. But other books (especially Samir al-Khalil's *Republic of Fear*) do the job better, and the Miller-Mylroie volume, with its inappropriate maps, hasty chronology and lack of footnotes or index, would normally not warrant a review [see Alexander Cockburn, "Beat the Devil," October 22, 1990]. What makes the book interesting, however, is the strong criticism the authors level at the policy the United States followed toward Iraq *before* August 2, 1990. Despite the astounding ruthlessness of Saddam, they argue, the U.S. government kowtowed to Baghdad:

> Giving Iraq the benefit of the doubt has been the result of a curious blend of cynicism and naivete on Washington's part. Administration after administration has looked for an opening to this closed, xenophobic regime. In its zeal to effect a more positive relationship, Washington overlooked human rights and other abuses and persuaded itself that what for Saddam was a temporary and tactical political repositioning was, in effect, a basic shift in his orientation and objectives.

Washington was encouraged in this groveling by many academics, and one of the foremost of these was none other than Laurie Mylroie.

In an article in the Summer 1988 issue of *Orbis*, for example, Mylroie argued that since 1982 there has been "a rough and unrecognized congruence in American and Iraqi interests." The Iran-Iraq war, she wrote, "has altered Iraq's position in fundamental and enduring ways, with the result that American-Iraqi cooperation offers a potential source of

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In 1986, Mylroie had written to *The New York Times*, criticizing the paper's "evenhandedness" in the Iran-Iraq war and calling for a tilt toward Baghdad. The next year, she teamed up with Daniel Pipes to contribute an article to *The New Republic* in which they urged the U.S. government to "Back Iraq"; among their specific policy recommendations were that the United States should provide Baghdad with "remotely scatterable and anti-personnel mines," "counter-artillery radar," further commodity credits, eased repayment terms and tariff reductions.

Mylroie assured us in 1988 that Saddam was not as bad as he seemed. Indeed, he was beloved by his people:

> Diplomats resident in Baghdad explain that, despite their initial doubts, they witnessed a genuine popularity that Saddam Husayn seems to enjoy in Iraq. They were surprised, for instance, when at a spring 1987 festival in Mosul the president left his guards and stepped into an eager crowd.

The 1990 book, on the other hand, reports (in a chapter drafted by Mylroie) that "it was not surprising" that "assassination attempts on Saddam increased with the dismal course of the war"; incidents are listed for 1982, 1984, 1985 and 1987, with the 1985 effort occurring in Saddam's hometown of Tikrit. "Before 1982, Saddam had paid frequent visits to various parts of the country, but he no longer did so. Instead, the anniversaries of his previous visits to various places were celebrated in his absence."

The book describes Saddam's purges of his Baath Party and the armed forces, his omnipresent internal security agencies and his pervasive cult of personality. But in 1988, Mylroie felt that Saddam's despotism had its bright side:

> From an American perspective, the more Saddam Husayn exercises control over the Ba'ath party, including the ideologues, the better. Centralization of power permits the regime to deviate from unworkable principles and pursue its interests. Indeed, whatever else one thinks of the Iraqi president, he has shown a capacity to make strategic decisions and abide by them.

And while there had been frequent coups in Iraq in the past, "for all its faults, the Ba'ath regime at least provided stability."

One of Saddam's methods of promoting this stability was by organizing public hangings. In the 1990 book, Miller and Mylroie describe the festival organized in 1969 when fourteen members of an alleged Zionist spy ring—most of them Jews—were hanged in Baghdad's Liberation Square. In response to international condemnation, Baghdad Radio declared, "We hanged spies, but the Jews crucified Christ." But in 1988, Mylroie sugarcoated the regime's anti-Semitism:

> The one exception to the Ba'ath's nonsectarianism is its attitude toward the Jews. On the one hand, Iraq's small Jewish community is reported to enjoy the government's full protection, even offering a Sabbath blessing of Saddam Husayn. On the other hand, in contradiction to their principles, Iraqi officials sometimes adopt a racist, anti-Semitic posture as part of their war propaganda, linking current ties between Israel and Iran to the imagined support of the Jews in Babylonian exile for Cyrus the Great.

(Evidently, Baghdad is not alone is making this argument. According to Mylroie in another article, then-Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon "used to shock Egyptians by asserting that Israel's alignment with Teheran was fixed in antiquity—the Persian king, Cyrus the Great, restored the Jews to Jerusalem in 567 B.C., ending their exile in Babylon.")

In their 1990 volume, Miller and Mylroie consider that a "particularly gruesome feature of Saddam's willingness to wage war without scruple" was his use of chemical weapons against the Kurds, "making Iraq the only state in the world ever to have used them against its own citizens." But in 1988, Mylroie explained that "however unpleasant it is, the regime in Iraq hardly differs from those in the neighborhood. Iran for instance has also used gas warfare"—a rather sleazy argument, given that what most nations in the world (including the United States) have forsworn is the *first* use of chemical weapons, not retaliatory use.

In 1989, Mylroie advised that an Israeli opening to Iraq could be beneficial, and she reported that indeed many key Israelis had adopted this view. Mylroie's argument is noteworthy in light of the October 1990 claim by Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak that Iraq and Israel had engaged in secret exchanges in 1987 and 1989 through the intermediary of a Harvard professor. Mubarak did not identify the professor, but Israeli newspapers said it was Mylroie. Mylroie denied that she was a go-between. Moshe Shahal,

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a former Israeli minister, however, has explained that Mylroie met with him and that it "was natural that if she had been to Iraq she would come and tell us about the contents of talks she held there with Iraqi government officials." Presumably, the well-connected Mylroie was privately trying to encourage the tilt toward Baghdad that she was publicly recommending in her writing.

According to a report last October in *The Village Voice*, when *The New York Times* asked its own reporter Judith Miller to explain her co-author's role in the secret contacts, Miller insisted that her contract for *Saddam Hussein and the Crisis in the Gulf* prevented her from disclosing any information until the book's October 15 publication date. When the book came out, however, it had remarkably little to say on the Baghdad-Tel Aviv contacts. It reported (saying only "independent sources confirm") that Iraqi and Israeli military intelligence officers met under Egyptian auspices in spring 1986 and that "most likely" talks would have been held again in 1988 had the Iran-Iraq war not ended. It is hard to evaluate the significance of all this without any details of what was said at the meetings, but Miller and Mylroie tell us no more.

Failing in one's predictions is no sin. But Mylroie didn't just misjudge Iraq. She served as an apologist for and supporter of Saddam Hussein, a man whom after the invasion of Kuwait she presented as eternally evil. This transformation precisely parallels the official policy of the U.S. government, though Washington's reversal, of course, has manifested itself in one of the most massive military actions since World War II. □

Gilligan's Island

JOAN JACOBS BRUMBERG

MAKING CONNECTIONS: The Relational Worlds of Adolescent Girls at Emma Willard School. *Edited by Carol Gilligan, Nona P. Lyons and Trudy J. Hanmer. Harvard University Press. 334 pp. $25. Paper $10.95.*

In 1982 Carol Gilligan published a short and unconventional book of psychology that instantly became part of the feminist canon. *In a Different Voice* has sold well over 400,000 copies, making its author—depending upon how you look at it—either the prophet of a new psychology of gender or an intellectual Pied Piper. The truth probably lies somewhere in between: Although Gilligan's work made a formidable contribution to our understanding of the psychology of women, she never provided (or claimed to provide) the comprehensive explanation of gender difference for which she is often credited and widely revered.

Gilligan's first book made a critical and justifiable first strike on the notion of moral development as articulated by male psychologists such as Lawrence Kohlberg, her own mentor. The way Kohlberg defined and measured moral development, women consistently scored lower than men. For example, when asked to resolve a hypothetical moral dilemma—should Heinz, a man with no money, steal the drugs necessary to save his dying wife?—males typically endorsed stealing to save a life. By contrast, women tended to reformulate the problem by suggesting, for example, a request to the pharmacist for help as an alternative to stealing. According to Kohlberg's scheme, this reasoning signified a lower level of moral development.

Careful listening to women as they talked about moral decision making helped Gilligan demonstrate that they were not flawed, just different from men. She used women's own voices to show the patterns of care and connection that pervade female lives, thought and language. Women, she said, employ an ethic of care, connection and response, while men follow a more abstract ethic of justice and rights. At a moment when feminist literary and historical studies were rediscovering the strength of women's culture, Gilligan's work supported the idea of gender difference. This was a significant landmark in the history of modern feminism because women had for so long been pilloried on the notion of sexual difference; now many of them embraced it.

Gilligan's ideas about female difference are made all the more attractive by her delivery, both in person and in print. She is impassioned, articulate and hu-

Joan Jacobs Brumberg teaches women's history at Cornell University and is the author of Fasting Girls: The History of Anorexia Nervosa *(New American Library). She is currently at work on a book about the history of female adolescence in the United States.*

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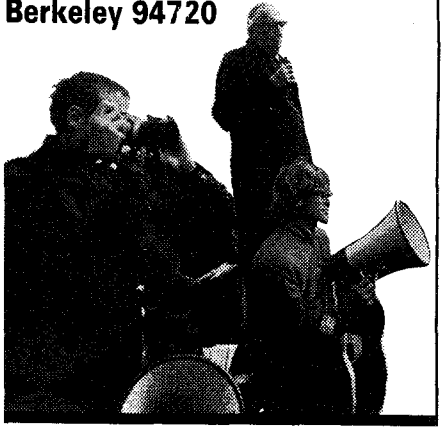

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manistic while much of contemporary social science is dull, laden with obscure jargon and decidedly detached from the human condition. She uses metaphors more readily than statistics, and her references are often literary and musical; in a recent essay, she and her co-authors liken the process of development to a double fugue. Virginia Woolf and Margaret Atwood are cited as naturally as Freud and Erikson. All of this makes her work comprehensible and attractive to those outside academic psychology.

Still, a number of important and unresolved questions remain about her schema: Is the "ethic of care" characteristic of all women and the "ethic of justice" inherent in all men? What about Catherine the Great, Bonnie Parker or Margaret Thatcher? From where do these essential gender differences spring? If socialization (not biology) is the key, as Gilligan seems to suggest, how do cultural variations—such as race and class—shape the "ethic of care"? Or is this female ethic fixed and immutable? To answer these questions, Gilligan might have directed her new research to diverse groups of women and girls—or even direct comparisons with men. Surprisingly, she has gone in the opposite direction.

In *Making Connections: The Relational Worlds of Adolescent Girls at Emma Willard School*, a book of essays edited with Nona P. Lyons and Trudy J. Hanmer, Gilligan extends her work on the primacy of relationships in women to the world of adolescent girls. The subjects are young women between the ages of 15 and 18 at a single-sex boarding school established in the nineteenth century in Troy, New York. The research project, which involved a collaboration among the Emma Willard School, the Harvard Graduate School of Education and the Geraldine Rockefeller Dodge Foundation, came to be known as the Dodge Study, and it clearly has implications for the education of adolescent girls. But the question is, Which girls? Is a feminist idyll—such as the nurturant, progressive, single-sex Emma Willard School—an appropriate laboratory for evaluating the experience of female adolescent development?

Although there is an important nod to cultural diversity in an essay by Janie Victoria Ward on the problem of identity formation among black adolescents in this predominantly white environment, all the girls we hear from in this book, black or white, are decidedly privileged. When Gilligan talks in the preface about the "underground city of female adolescence" she is not referring to drugs, sexuality or abuse—issues that pervade the lives of urban underclass girls. She uses the term "underground" to highlight the extent to which girls, like women, have been omitted from standard accounts of adolescent development and she invokes the "city" to suggest the emotional edifice or complexity of the girls we know best, our own middle-class daughters. By her own definition, her subjects are "girls . . . of privilege and promise." What are the Emma Willard girls like? And why might a reader, particularly a parent or teacher who works with adolescent women, be skeptical about how far the portrait presented here can be generalized?

There is a surprising lack of both fluidity and turbulence in the relational world at Emma Willard. Although relationships are central to these adolescents, they are worked out in an artful way characterized by steadiness rather than volatility. Relationships among girls are not particularly intense or even lively; there are few quarrels, breakups or crushes; there are no changing confidantes. Instead, the Emma Willard students consistently balance a desire for self-determination with the needs of others, generally avoid disengagement from their parents and describe themselves as growing and profiting from their connections to families and communities. Their consistent preferences for attachment support Gilligan's claim that separation and autonomy are not per se at the center of female psychological development. And their lack of alienation provides some perspective on why we have no female versions of Holden Caulfield in our literature.

Sex in this environment is also calm, cool and collected. According to a study by Kathleen Holland Bolleruđ, Susan Boynton Christopherson and Emily Schultz Frank, the girls at Emma Willard employ two different "voices" in making decisions about physical intimacy with boys and whether or not to have sexual intercourse. In the attachment mode, the emphasis is the quality of intimacy, affection and engagement within the relationship, so that the world outside the couple rarely intrudes. In the contractual mode, the relationship is judged by standards derived from sources external to the couple—such as parents, religious traditions, peers or other social norms—but primary attention is paid to individual need, not to being part of a couple.

While Emma Willard girls are sometimes conflicted about what to do when, there is little spontaneity in their sexual choices and virtually no coercion. They do not lose control and they are deliberate about their sexual choices. This runs counter to what we know about the larger world of adolescent sexuality. Most studies report a great deal of impulsive activity without forethought or foreplay, and most young people apparently experience their first intercourse almost entirely dressed. Even among middle- and upper-class adolescents, there is a growing amount of date rape and sexuality under the influence of alcohol or drugs. The Emma Willard girls' ability to turn to contractual reasoning—"Is intercourse in my best interest?"—may be the privilege of young women who have both a strong sense of self and the ability to envision a meaningful future. It is also surprising that none of the sexual decision making at Emma Willard includes lesbian choices.

Sex at Emma Willard is obviously not the same as sex in Watts or even Watertown. Adolescent girls will employ different sexual strategies depending on their social class, race, family background, ability and temperament. The authors surely know this, but they never explain how these different modes of thinking about sexuality are shaped by social and economic opportunities. They do suggest that sex education programs ought to be reformulated to incorporate the adolescent girl's basic concerns with relationships and to develop her ability to articulate a moral base for her choices—that is, to teach these two different forms of reasoning about sex—but they do not tell us how this can be done. They are correct that neither the liberal agenda (creating a value-neutral curriculum that teaches only reproductive facts) nor the conser-

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vative program ("Just say no") has managed to stem the tide of teenage pregnancies in the United States, which has the highest rate in the Western world. But how do we transplant the contractual reasoning found at Emma Willard to the streets of the South Bronx? Is it even possible? And is it our best hope? Rather than use Emma Willard students as the reference point, shouldn't we be studying the reasoning and social networks of underclass girls who do *not* get pregnant in their teens?

Making Connections also finesses forms of cultural life and social conflict that are critical to understanding why and how girls think, speak and act the way they do. Despite the project's best intentions, these studies somehow neglect the fun, the volatility, the chronic and gnawing indecision, the capacity for obsessive discussion and the blatant materialism that pervade modern female adolescence. There is surprisingly little attention to cliques, complaining, gossip or forms of ritual insulting, a behavior that sociolinguists have studied among working-class girls. (And how does ritual insulting fit with the ethic of either care or justice?) Moreover, the richness of the world of girls, particularly their uses and abuses of popular culture, is considered only in the most superficial way. This is a book about the development of girls coming of age in the late twentieth century that never mentions MTV or the way personal identity can be linked to athletic shoes.

To establish intersections between psychology and culture is difficult indeed, but to consider girls without reference to mass culture is naïve. As the recent feminist debate about the meaning of Madonna suggests, "girl culture" exists, whether we like it or not, and its content and spirit tell us a great deal about the emotional needs of young women. Catherine Steiner-Adair's essay on eating disorders does implicate modern advertising, the beauty ideal and the diet industry in sustaining anorexic preoccupations, but there are moments in this volume when interview material cries out for broader cultural interpretation as well as some skepticism. This is particularly true of Janet Mendelsohn's study, which proposes that the Emma Willard students represent something we might call the "new girl" (my term, not hers).

The new girls are not dependent on men. Allegedly, they are "released" from "boys' power over their images" and are not "holding [their] identity in abeyance . . . waiting to be defined by an intimate relationship with a future husband." They are also highly optimistic about their future and have a formulaic vocabulary to describe what it means to be successful: "independent," "open," "understanding," "responsible," "thin."

Mendelsohn reproduces the adolescent lexicon of success with authenticity but without questioning its sources or how it has been codified in the culture through books, television, films or exposure to pop psychology. She also claims that these girls have no fantasies of "romance and rescue" but never entertains the notion that, while their visions of the future may not look like their mothers', they may be fantasies nonetheless. Instead of waiting for an established and mature husband (à la Cary Grant), today's young woman dreams about encountering a nurturant, communicative and supportive collaborator (more like Kevin Costner) with whom she will share domesticity, child rearing and immensely satisfying leisure. Given what we know about male participation in modern families, isn't this a fantasy too?

Undoubtedly girls have changed, but Mendelsohn overstates the case. Her evidence is remarkably slim and she seems taken in by the new girl's youthful idealism and glib litany of what she wants. Sociologists such as Mirra Komarovsky, Ruth Sidel and Arlie Hochschild agree that contemporary young women do have greater expectations of personal achievement and fulfillment, but they also suggest that women experience great stress and anxiety precisely because of the harsh dissonance between their dreams and reality. Mendelsohn's claim that feminism made this new girl possible may warm our hearts, but it is probably a premature form of self-congratulation and a limited, class-specific phenomenon.

Just how premature the congratulations are is suggested by the recently published results of a study commissioned by the American Association of University Women. "Girls emerge from adolescence with a poor self-image, relatively low expectations from life and much less confidence in themselves and their abilities than boys," *The New York Times* summarized. The study showed that many American high schools continue to trash girls; the main exceptions were black girls, whose self-esteem, researchers conjectured, is centered on family and commu-

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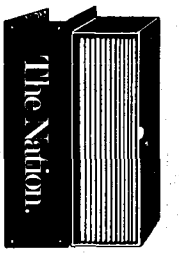

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nity rather than school. For most girls, however, adolescence is transformative in an unsettling way. According to Gilligan's research elsewhere, girls of 9 to 11 are filled with self-confidence, but by 15 they are plagued by self-doubt.

But Gilligan and her collaborators are arguing a point about gender as well as adolescence. For young women, adolescence poses a "crisis of connection." Precisely because of their investment in others and their interpersonal skills, adolescence is more difficult for girls than boys. The external world suggests that they should be breaking away but their desire for relationships with their families remains strong. They must forge an adult identity in the face of a culture that devalues what is most important to them—relationships. In language that sounds remarkably like G. Stanley Hall, the late-nineteenth-century architect of the concept of adolescence, Gilligan proclaims that adolescence is a watershed in female development: "As the river of a girl's life flows into the sea of Western culture, she is in danger of drowning or disappearing." For Gilligan the humanist, the predicament of the adolescent girl is in fact the dilemma of the modern world: that we "need to find ways to make connection in the face of difference."

Making Connections is a book of confirmation rather than controversy. There are no studies here that do not fit Gilligan's paradigm, and most of the authors have also adopted their mentor's language. In some ways, they talk a bit too easily about morality, care, justice, attachment and response—as if their meanings were altogether clear and shared by their audience. And, as I have indicated, their tight focus on such privileged subjects is a problem throughout. Yet after completing the postscript "Reflections," an account by Emma Willard teachers of their personal experience of the Dodge Study, one cannot help but be struck by the potential of Gilligan's ideas to transform female education. All the Emma Willard teachers acknowledge that their women students did better in cooperative environments where learning and competition were reformulated in terms of relationships and sharing. Although they remain very much in the shadow of their well-known project director, Gilligan's colleagues take girls seriously while many scholars do not. In the future, it will be interesting as well as vitally important to see if they can penetrate the world of young women who are at a greater social and psychic distance from themselves. □

FILMS.

STUART KLAWANS

The Silence of the Lambs
Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead
Tribulation 99
Forevermore: Biography of a Leach Lord

Although they're both awash in blood, the Bible and classical literature contain not a single serial killer. Some hints of this figure begin to crop up in the scandal sheets and hangman's ballads that helped usher in the Age of Reason; John Gay's Macheath might be a distant relative. But the true serial killer, who so haunts the imagination of our era, first appears in 1888—the day before yesterday—in the person of Jack the Ripper.

Everybody in London's underworld knew Macheath and was ready to sing his name; but Jack stalks the streets alone and unrecognized. Both he and his prey are rootless, anonymous creatures of the industrial city. The victims, perverse though it sounds, are among the pioneers of women's emancipation. They are available in such inexhaustible supply because women in 1888 are starting to live on their own in the city. As for the killer, he too is a pioneer, of the Age of Psychology. Jack is understood to be insane, in the newly defined medical sense. His disorder is inward and personal; his crimes, devoid of moral or symbolic dimensions, point to nothing but himself. You might almost say that by repeating his murders, creating a pattern, Jack writes his name in code with his victims' bodies.

I offer these grisly reflections to suggest that the serial killer, for all his faults, cannot be summarily kicked out of the collective imagination. Treat him as just one more instance of men's violence against women and you ignore the historical peculiarities that make him so unhappily our own. Of course, you could argue that narratives about serial killers are mere pandering, selling men the ugliest of their own fantasies. Most of the time, you'd be right. But then, for all their faults, come the exceptions, such as Hitchcock's *Frenzy*, John McNaughton's *Henry: Portrait of a Serial Killer* and now Jonathan Demme's *The Silence of the Lambs*.

Based on the novel of the same name by Thomas Harris, *The Silence of the Lambs* follows F.B.I. cadet Clarice Starling (Jodie Foster) through the obstacle course of her first assignment. To help capture one serial killer, she must gain the confidence of another, a mad genius named Dr. Hannibal Lecter (Anthony Hopkins), who is imprisoned for life but still is said to be supremely dangerous. Compulsive moviegoers might recall that a similar plot, linking a brilliant madman in jail with a killer on the loose, figured in Harris's novel *Red Dragon*. Michael Mann brought that story to the screen in 1986 as *Manhunter*, using his characteristically showy, brain-dead style. Demme's no-nonsense approach works much better. In fact, if you ask nothing more of a movie than effective storytelling, you might as well stop reading here. I guarantee *The Silence of the Lambs* will give your nervous system a thorough massage.

But if you want to know *why* you're being worked over, the movie becomes more problematic. The best answer *The Silence of the Lambs* can offer—and it's a good one—is that the protagonist is a woman. She might even be a lesbian. Not that Demme portrays her as such; but it's interesting to see how he leaves open the possibility. You will notice that the only character to whom Starling seems attached is a fellow cadet, who is a woman (and black as well). When challenged about her sexual feelings toward her boss (Scott Glenn), Starling seems genuinely puzzled: "It really never occurred to me," she says. And when a new acquaintance—a man—asks her to dinner, Starling seems more astonished than the guy's nerdiness would warrant. Maybe it's just that she's all business; but you get the sense that she wouldn't be distracted by a man if Nick Nolte himself crossed her path. One giant step forward for the American cinema.

And one giant step back—because the villain of *The Silence of the Lambs*, as introduced perhaps a third of the way through, is a mincing queen. Granted, there's some double talk in the dialogue about the killer's not *really* being homosexual; but if you dropped him into the middle of a Mel Brooks movie, most people would get the idea. He has long blond hair and a yapping little dog named Precious and he flounces around in a nightgown. To Mel Brooks, that would make him a figure of fun. In *The Silence of the Lambs*, it makes him evil incarnate. Never mind that the great majority of violence against women is committed by straight men. Never mind that being gay, even on the streets of Manhat-

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an, is enough to turn a man into a target for batting practice. The secret of Jack the Ripper has been revealed at last: He's a fag.

I suspect Demme knew he was doing wrong, because the rest of the film plays as a muddle-headed attempt to back away from this image. In other words, Demme tops a moral and political error with a narrative one. He has Starling gradually uncover the reason for the killer's behavior, in a series of scenes that are more tell than show; the "explanation," when complete, is about as convincing as a pitchman's lecture on a two-headed calf. Of course, the audience doesn't need this hokum; the film's real explanation for the crimes has been made all too clear. But then, as I've noted, the serial-killer myth always draws on the myths of psychology; and so Demme clogs the movie with a full set of bogus revelations—for the killer and Starling alike—which are as banal as they are anticlimactic.

That's precisely the mistake John McNaughton avoided in *Henry: Portrait of a Serial Killer*, which is one of the reasons his film may have put an end to the genre well before Demme's hit the screen. Somber, gritty and unblinking, *Henry* started production as a low-budget exploitation picture but turned into an almost Bressonian critique of film violence. The killings, transpiring under the blank stare of McNaughton's camera, stir up neither bloodlust nor laughter in the audience. They're simply horrific. And yet the moments that really make your mouth go dry are the interludes between, in which Henry (Michael Rooker, in the performance of a lifetime) exchanges a few polite words with a coffee shop's waitress or simply goes for a walk. You get the impression that he lives in an invisible bubble. When Henry breaks through and makes contact with other people, he kills; and then, because he has killed, he retreats once more into his solitude. What "explanation" would be adequate for such a man? The film offers none; and so it achieves an intensity of portraiture that *The Silence of the Lambs* can't begin to match.

What can Demme's film offer instead? First, it provides a very accomplished, though actorly, performance by Anthony Hopkins and a beautifully unforced portrayal by Jodie Foster. The script by Ted Tally has moments of genuine wit; the cinematography is by Demme's expert collaborator, Tak Fujimoto. As for the direction, it might be called undistinguished, in the best sense of the word. There are no bravura sequences, no set pieces for film students to pore over and other directors to emulate. Everything is smooth and of a piece. Demme unobtrusively sets up a visual metaphor—the obstacle course—when we first see Starling; later, he transforms the image into a labyrinth of offices and then a mazelike dungeon, where Starling confronts Lecter. When she gets to this core of evil, Demme's tracking shots give way to close-ups, in which Lecter's head seems to float in a gleaming white field. All this happens so unaffectedly that you focus only on the events, not on Demme's skill.

In other words, *The Silence of the Lambs* works, in the way Hollywood pictures routinely worked long ago. I suppose that's why advance response has been ecstatic and why audiences may well flock to the picture. For a change, a contemporary American movie actually does what it sets out to do. I suppose I should feel encouraged—but I don't. I'm dismayed that people should mistake competence for art, appalled that critics and audiences seem ready to wink at gay-bashing. And I'm disheartened that Jonathan Demme, whose best work has been so alert, so open to the way Americans live, would cocoon himself in this preposterous fantasy. *The Silence of the Lambs* is a cut above an exploitation picture; but then, so was *Manhunter*.

Short Takes: Tom Stoppard made his name with *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead*; so it's fitting that he have the privilege of running riot through his own text, as director of the film version. He blissfully abandons most of the play's overtones of Pirandello and Beckett and cuts straight to the shtick—lots and lots of shtick. Most of it is carried out by Rosencrantz (Guildenstern?), played in sweet-natured, Stan Laurel fashion by Gary Oldman. The more acerbic Guildenstern (Rosencrantz?) of Tim Roth is thus slighted; but that, along with Stoppard's clumsiness in such matters as camera placement and framing, causes only the smallest glitch in the entertainment. Stoppard might not be much of an image-maker, but he's had some big-league help from his production designer, Vaughan Edwards, and costume designer, Andreane Neofitou. They keep the eyes pleasantly occupied while Stoppard exercises what is clearly a real talent for working with actors. Among them, special commendation should go to Richard Dreyfuss, as the leader of the players. A little bit of Long John Silver sneaks into his characterization—which, considering the grim fates of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, is only too appropriate.

Tribulation 99, which runs through February 14 at New York's Collective for Living Cinema, is an hourlong "pseudo-documentary" by Craig Baldwin, who shows all the signs of being an aggressively backsliding fundamentalist. His film presents itself as one of those Bible-school lessons in recent and future history, giving evidence of prophecies fulfilled and warning of the apocalypse to come;

ROWS OF APARTMENTS

The sounds that come through walls at night,
voices without edges,
radio programs that are all drums,
moments of excitement without foundation,
carry to an ear that listens
to the insides of words, kernels of feeling
husked of their meanings.
In the next apartment, you hear
the grunt at the center of a noun or verb
where the thing or action was not yet composed,
and you hear the constricted throat
in a series of angry sibilants flowing together
through porous concrete. And you may sometimes hear
late at night the open throat of love
using and releasing great volumes of air.
These buildings are a stringed instrument,
chamber on chamber building an orchestra,
vibrating in wires deep in cement
with sound that made the bush burst into flame,
and caused the sea to pile upon the shore
and made the lover hurry to close the door.

Marvin Bell

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but it's far more tacky than any of its models, since Baldwin has pieced it together exclusively from found footage. Thanks to his bargain-basement montage, underground cities (from *Flash Gordon*?) seethe with Satanic mutants; President Eisenhower goes for a spin on a U.F.O. from Planet Quetzalcoatl. Sometime during the voiceover's nonstop rant against Communist conspiracies and pagan rites, I gave up trying to follow all the paranoid connections and just enjoyed the scenery. *Tribulation 99* is a virtual encyclopedia of arrows poking across maps, saucers streaking across the sky, foot-high volcanoes erupting, Play-Doh monsters menacing extras in Army surplus jump suits.

On the same bill, the Collective is showing *Forevermore: Biography of a Leach Lord*, by Erik Saks. It seemed a bit studied at first—especially after the trashy éclat of *Tribulation 99*—but turned out to be a strangely affecting fictional portrait of an unlikely tragic hero, a man who dumps toxic waste. Narrated in scrambled chronological order, through diary entries from the 1950s into the near future, *Forevermore* tells the story of a quintessential American loner: someone who realizes early on that he has nothing to lose and spends the rest of his life on the road, doing a job nobody wants to know about, with the help of workers who won't be missed if they happen to disappear. Like *Tribulation 99*, *Forevermore* has its proselytizing side—Saks wants you to know just how much poison is spilling into the world, and with what consequences. But whereas Baldwin's film, as a polemic about polemics, eventually wears a bit thin, *Forevermore* pulls you deeper and deeper into a landscape made up of motels and industrial back lots, a character afloat in sorrow, PCBs and vodka by the half pint. I don't know where the picture will pop up next, but I recommend that you watch for it.

Finally, a note on someone who did *not* waste his life. Leo Hurwitz, who began his career as a photographer with the New York Film and Photo League and went on to help found Frontier Films, died last month at age 81, leaving behind one of the more substantial legacies in American cinema. I assume every reader of *The Nation* is familiar with his productions, or would want to be: *Heart of Spain* (1938), on the Spanish Civil War; *Native Land* (1942), on the labor movement during the Depression; *Strange Victory* (1948), on the racism that America had defeated in Nazi Germany but still practiced at home. Though blacklisted in the 1950s, Hurwitz managed to work, uncredited, for television. Later, in the 1960s, he helped bring a successful suit against the Directors Guild of America, so that members would no longer be required to sign a loyalty oath. In more recent years, Hurwitz settled into well-deserved respectability, as a professor at New York University. But I notice, in his *New York Times* obituary, that he was working on a screenplay about John Brown when he died. Way to go, old man. □

LETTERS.

(*Continued From Page 218*)

different from his predecessor in that he is certainly not a military Keynesian, even though his actions in the Middle East will no doubt increase military spending. His recent budget compromise with the Democrats in the House to raise taxes on upper-income families at the same time that the economy was slipping into its first recession since 1982 clearly disqualifies him for this appellation.

Lynn Turgeon
Professor Emeritus of Economics
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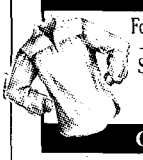

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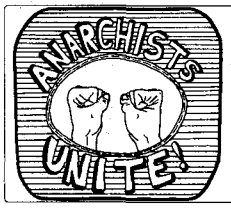

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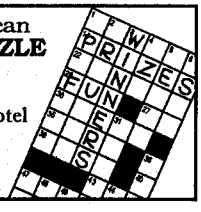

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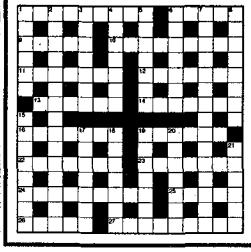

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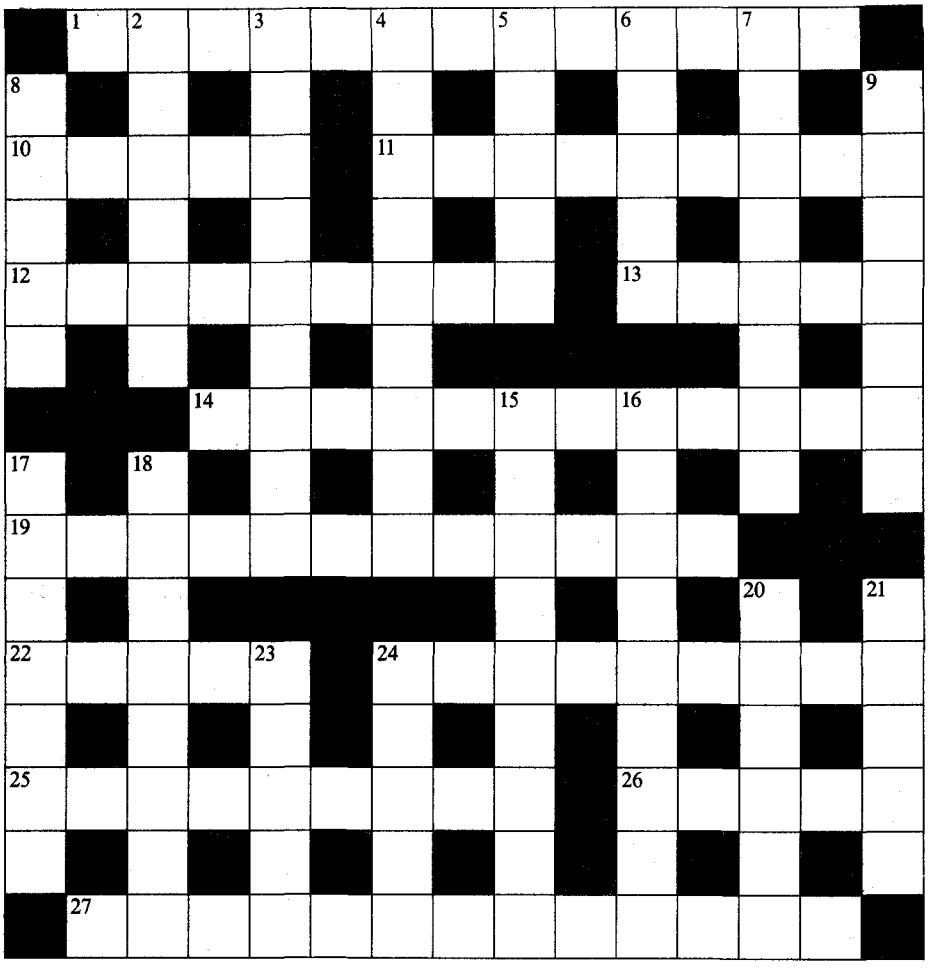

ACROSS

1 If some animals think it's funny, you might have this, but the joke will be on you if you made one. (8,5)
10 Does one hope to find victory in one's lap? (5)
11 One might be expected to come out in the ride, but antecedes it. (9)
12 A bunch of witches and hill dwellers make such pacts, evidently. (9)
13 Steal out with other than the most, certainly! (5)
14 What one might be doing on the 17, if not very decisive. (12)
19 People might swear to make them! (The state is not at some difficulty, however.) (12)
22 The game of new history? (5)
24 They frequently complain, with tears being common. (9)
25 Perhaps associated with a large purchase of oil in a U.S.A. state, also. (9)
26 Sapsucker? (5)
27 Carroll as well as Gable, perhaps some expedition made with them. (5,3,5)

DOWN

2 The Arab-English gent, evidently in recess. (6)
3 Perhaps amusing, re what might be found in the garden. (9)
4 Search and find one's, I always say, if you want the country. (9)
5 Utters mocking words, but agrees with the sound of it. (5)
6 Things should add up if you take one. (5)
7 Going to pot? That's what they call it! (8)
8 You might consider it support for a couple. (5)
9 Being almost all overt, I got a funny feeling from it! (7)
15 Puck, for example, to come down where Mab was. (9)
16 Fool a vain display this way? It's useless! (2,2,5)
17 Superior to the stage presentation of "Kitten on the Keys"? (7)
18 Struck by the poser, perhaps. (8)
20 Does there seem to be nothing in the secret message? (6)
21 One isn't always meant to hear such wrong ideas! (5)
23 His goodbye was meant to last a long time, evidently. (5)
24 What some called the founder of the Red Cross. (5)

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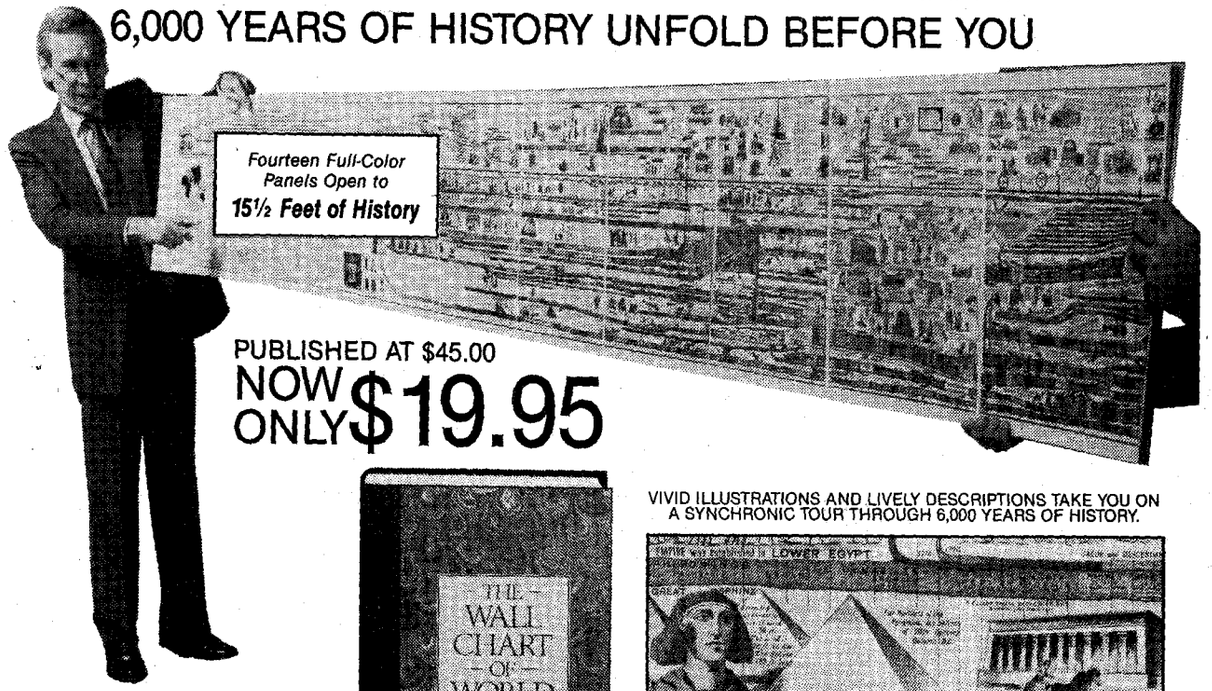

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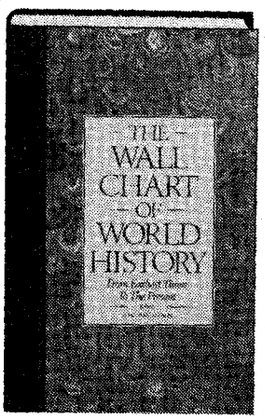

Look inside this book and you'll discover a great 19th-century creation: *The Wallchart of World History.* The few existing originals of this famous chronology are housed in museums. But thanks to this beautifully illustrated reproduction, you don't have to travel to a museum to see 6,000 years of history unfold before your eyes!

Made up of 14 connecting panels which fold out to 15½ feet in length, this chart traces mankind's history from Biblical days to the present. New sections have been added to the original, so the chart now covers history through the 1980's.

SEE HOW HISTORY PROGRESSED—AT A GLANCE!

The Wallchart of World History is based on a unique, "timeline" design that guides you through the vast panorama of empires and epochs with ease. Simply move along the horizontal lines that trace each of the world's major civilizations and you'll be able to study momentous events and follow great movements on a year-by-year basis. What's more, the vertical lines reveal what was going on concurrently throughout the world at any date, so you'll see the grand scope of history at a glance.

AN EXCELLENT EDUCATIONAL TOOL AND REFERENCE

With its thousands of dates, facts, and quotes, *The Wallchart of World History* provides a wonderfully complete overview of our civilization's chronology. And it's a dependable reference you can use to learn about:

- Reigns of rulers—from King Solomon to Elizabeth II
- History-making inventions—from the spinning wheel to the steam engine
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- The 80 most important European battles from 1471 to 1878
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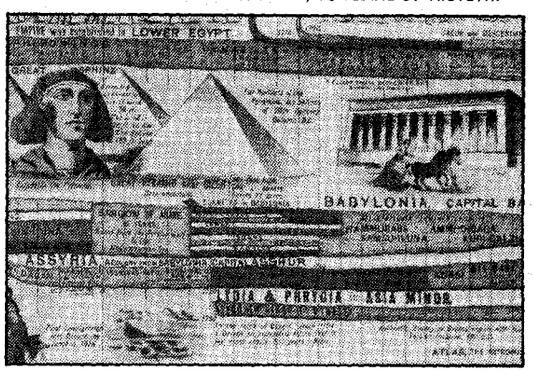

HUNDREDS OF DETAILED COLOR ILLUSTRATIONS

You'll be wide-eyed at the years of craftsmanship evident in the superb visuals. Hundreds of beautifully colored, exquisitely detailed illustrations bring history to life in a way that words alone cannot. And the chart will make a handsome wall decoration as well as an interesting conversation piece.

GREAT FOR HANDS-ON STUDY, TOO!

There are so many ways to use the chart! Turn to any page for a glimpse at a particular era, or look at any number of panels in sequence—up to the full 14 panels at once! Whether you display it on the wall or use it for frequent reference, *The Wallchart of History* is a one-of-a-kind item that will find a welcome place in any home, library or classroom.

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